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ALEXANDRO TURYN OCTOGENARIO D.D.D.

PREFACE

During the first *lustrum* of its existence, *Illinois Classical Studies*, Vols. I (1976) - V (1980), was able to publish scholarly contributions by eighty-three classicists (over 1300 pages), coming from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, West Germany and France.

Now, beginning with this Volume VI, *ICS* will appear in two semi-annual issues, every spring and fall. Vols. VI.1-2 (1981) and VII.1-2 (1982) are an international *Festschrift Alexander Turyn*. They comprise some fifty invited contributions on Greek and Latin literature, by scholars coming from twelve countries (Austria, Canada, Danemark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Poland, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.), presented to Professor Turyn on the occasion of his eightieth birthday (26 December 1980).

A complete list of Turyn's publications is printed in *Serta Turyniana*, edited by John L. Heller with the assistance of J.K. Newman, Urbana, Illinois U.P., 1974, pp.IX + 624. Let me say here that Turyn's major scholarship easily falls into three groups.

First group comprises: *Studia Sapphica* (Eos, Suppl.6, 1929, pp.108); *De Aelii Aristidis codice Varsoviensi atque de Andrea Taranowski et Theodosio Zygomala* (Academia Polona Litterarum, Cracow, 1929, pp.78 + 5 plates); *De codicibus Pindaricis* (Acad. Pol. Litt., 1932, pp.88); finally, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* ed. A. T. (Acad. Pol. Litt. et Scient., 1948, pp.XVI + 403. Repr. Oxford, Blackwell; Harvard U.P.; Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1952).

Second--and most influential--group includes: *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (New York, Polish Institute Series, 2, 1943, pp.V + 141. Repr. Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1967). *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles* (Urbana, Illinois U.P., 1952, pp.XI + 217,

18 plates. Repr. Rome, *Studia philol.*, 15, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1970). *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana, Illinois U.P., 1957, pp.X + 415, 24 plates. Repr. Rome, *Stud. philol.*, 16, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1970).

Finally, the third group consists of *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, 28, *Bibl. Apostol. Vaticana*, 1964, pp.XVI + 206, 205 plates); *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (Urbana, Illinois U.P., 1972. Vol.I: pp.LIV + 294; vol. II: pp.XXXII + 265 plates). *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 17, Washington, D.C., 1980, in press).

May Alexander Turyn keep publishing major scholarship for many years to come. May he live long enough to see a third *Festschrift* in his honor. Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.

Urbana, 1 October 1980

Miroslav Marcovich, *Editor*

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ARCHILOCHUS, FR. 4 WEST: A COMMENTARY

DOUGLAS E. GERBER

With a few exceptions, commentators on Archilochus have generally been content simply to cite fr. 4 as an illustration of his flippant, unheroic attitude towards war and have passed over the specific details of the poet's injunctions. The present study is therefore an attempt to determine as precisely as possible what it is that Archilochus is instructing an unnamed person to do.¹⁾ The text, as printed by West, is as follows:

.(.)].(.)[

φρα[

Ξεινοι[

δεῖπνον δ' ου[

5 οὔτ' ἔμοι ωσαῖ[

ἀλλ' ἄγε σὺν κάθωνι θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηδός

φοίτα καὶ κοίλιων πώματ' ἄφελκε κάδων,

ἄγρει δ' οἶνον ἵερυθρὸν ἀπό τρυγός· ούδε γάρ ήμεῖς

νηφέμεν ἵέν φυλακῆι τῆιδε δυνησόμεθα.

The last four lines, quoted by Athenaeus 11. 483 d in his discussion of the κάθων, were slightly expanded by the publication in 1908 of P. Oxy. 854.

2 φρα[: Lasserre suggests φρά[ζε or φρά[ζεο. The latter is much more probable than the former, since φράζεο appears nine times as a line-beginning in Homer and since Homer offers no example of the active form of the present of this verb. - In the margin there are horizontal strokes above and below, what Grenfell and Hunt took to be a theta "marking the 800th line of the manuscript," but which West and others have taken

as a paragraphus and coronis. If the latter explanation is correct, the poem began with φρα[and the line-numbering should be altered.

4 δεῖπνον δ' οὐ[: οὐ[τ(ε) is a likely supplement in view of the following οὐτ' and West plausibly suggests that the general meaning is 'cena ne[c tibi in promptu est] nec mihi.' Garzya's δού[λιον is rightly rejected by Gentili.

Since, as I shall argue later, it is probably night, δεῖπνον may be the equivalent of δόρπον, the evening-meal, as it is in *Odyssey* 17.176, or it may simply denote food in general. Possibly in v.3 Archilochus said that ξεῖνοι travelling with them were dining, and then added that neither he nor his companion had anything to eat; or it may be that, if the ship is beached, the ξεῖνοι are hostile inhabitants of the area who are preventing the crew from foraging for food. It is also possible that Archilochus is expressing a disregard for food and a preference for wine instead, an attitude which we find in *Anth. Pal.* 11.59 and 60.

6 ἀλλ' ἄγε : an extremely common line-beginning in Homer. The papyrus verifies Musurus' correction of Athenaeus' ἀλλά τε.

σὸν κάθωνι : many of the passages in which a κάθων is mentioned are cited by Athenaeus 11. 483 a - 484 c. He quotes Critias to the effect that it was a cup used by the Spartans when on military service, since it had an inward-curving lip which held back any impurities that might be present in the water drunk by soldiers on campaign. See the plate in A. Conze, "Kothon," *Philologus* 17 (1860) 565-67, and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Cothon." Athenaeus states that in the passage from Archilochus κάθων is what is ordinarily called a κύλιξ and I doubt that Archilochus was thinking of a specifically Spartan cup. Certainly there is no justification for the inference made by Bologna that Archilochus must be on a Spartan ship. For the use of a κάθων by sailors compare the scholiast on Aristophanes *Equites* 600, κάθων εἶδος ἐκπώματος ὁστρακίνου, ή εἶδος ποτηρίου λακωνικοῦ καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ. ἐπειδὴ μεριστὸν ὅδωρ ἐλάμβανον οἱ ναῦται, κάθωνας εἶχον. Unless Alexis (fr. 176 Kock) was exaggerating when he applied the epithet τετράκότυλος to a κάθων, it could be of considerable size. Perhaps

both its size and its use by military personnel with their reputation for 'hard drinking' caused the verb *καθωνίζω* to have the meaning 'to make drunk.'

Θοῆς : a common epithet of *νηῦς* in Homer, whether the ship is in motion or not, and it is generally explained as ornamental here. Merone, however, argues that it is more "patico a suggestivo" if we assume that the ship is plowing through the sea at night in search of the enemy. He feels that if the ship were at anchor the "note of hardship" would be removed and there would consequently be less reason for those on watch to get drunk. The preserved lines, however, contain no "note of hardship" and the boredom of keeping watch on or beside an anchored ship would no doubt provide Archilochus with sufficient reason for drinking. Also, there is no evidence that the ship is in search of the enemy or even that it is a warship. Furthermore, as Casson 44 points out, "unless utterly unavoidable, nights were spent ashore" (see also below on 9 ἐν φυλακῇ).

διὰ σέλματα : variously explained, but usually as either 'thwarts, rowers' benches' or 'deck,' and although there is some disagreement about which meaning is present in specific passages, there can be no doubt that both meanings are attested in the fifth century (see Monaco, *Palermo*, and Casson 220). Both are also given in Hesychius, s.v. σέλματα· τὰ ζυγὰ τῆς νεώς· ἢ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ εἰς τὸν ζυγὸν διαστήματα· ἢ αἱ καθέδραι τῶν ἑρετῶν, καὶ συναρμογαὶ τῶν σανίδων. The word does not occur in Homer, but ἐύσελμος is very common and either 'well-benched' or 'well-decked' would seem equally appropriate. When σέλματα denotes the 'deck,' it is sometimes the deck at the bow or stern (e.g., Euripides *Helen* 1566), but there was also in some ships a deck running the length of the ship down the middle, though "not the full width from gunwale to gunwale" (Casson 51). At first glance, therefore, Archilochus could be saying either 'through the thwarts,' i.e., over or under the thwarts (depending on the size of the ship), or 'across the thwarts,' i.e., along the decking which ran the length of the ship across the thwarts.

The latter seems to be envisaged in what is the closest parallel I have been able to find, Apollonius Rhodius 4. 1663-64, ... βῆσατ' ἐπ' ἵκριόφιν· χειρὸς δέ ἐ κειρὶ μεμαρπάς / Αἴσονίδης ἐκόμιζε διὰ κληῆδας ἰοῦσαν, '... Medea went on deck, and Jason taking her hand in his guided her way across the thwarts.' Although κληῆς seems to mean 'thole-pin' in Homer (Casson 46) rather than 'rower's bench' (LSJ), it always means 'thwart, rower's bench' in Apollonius (l. 358; 399; 3. 1269; 4. 887), and it is scarcely conceivable that Apollonius intended us to imagine Jason and Medea making their way *through* (i.e., over and under) the thwarts; they must surely be moving along the deck which ran the length of the ship. She needs to be guided because she has covered her face in order to have the privacy necessary for the magic ritual she is about to perform. Although ἵκρια can mean 'afterdeck' or 'foredeck,' it is more often the former (Casson 44 and 179), and since presumably Medea would normally stay in the after part of the Argo, it is probable that she is moving from the stern to the bow.

Gigante, however, argues that διὰ with accusative must denote motion *through*, not *across*, and he therefore supports the view that Archilochus is ordering someone to go through the thwarts and give each of the rowers a κώθων of wine. The latter part of this interpretation implies that the ship is in motion, since if the rowers were not pulling the oars they would be able to provide their own wine, but for the reasons given above under θοῆς I consider this most unlikely. Also, all the emphasis is on wine for those on watch, with no mention of rowers at all. Furthermore, I doubt that any interpretation should be based on a distinction between διὰ with the genitive and διὰ with the accusative. The two constructions can be interchangeable, as, for example, in *Odyssey* 7. 40 ἐρχόμενον κατὰ ἄστυ διὰ σφέας and 10. 391-92 δι' αὐτῶν / ἐρχομένη (compare also Hesiod *Erga* 513-17).

Gigante may be right, however, in arguing for 'through the thwarts.' If the κάδοι are stowed under the thwarts (see below on 7 κάδων), it would be necessary to pass through them in order to obtain the wine. For this use of διὰ compare, e.g.,

Homeric Hymn 19.8 φοιτᾶι δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διὰ δωπῆια πυκνά. In this passage διὰ means 'through' in the sense of 'among,' and that would be the sense required for our fragment if the wine is stowed under the thwarts. On the basis of the evidence at our disposal I do not see how we can make a choice between 'across the deck' and 'through (i.e., among) the thwarts.'

7 φοίτα : there has similarly been considerable debate about the precise significance of this word. Page, for example, remarks: "we cannot tell whether φοίτα means 'go to and fro repeatedly' or simply 'go': φοιτᾶν is a common line-beginning in Homer; if it was adopted because traditional here, not even Archilochus' own audience could have known which meaning was intended." Page's alternatives, however, for the meaning of φοιτᾶν are somewhat misleading. There are 19 examples of the verb in Homer, 6 in the Homeric Hymns and 4 (perhaps 5) in Hesiod, and in none of these does the verb mean simply 'go.' Rather it denotes either repeated movement or movement in various directions. The possibilities, therefore, are: 'go repeatedly over the deck,' 'go repeatedly through the thwarts,' and 'go this way and that through the thwarts.' The first two seem preferable to the third, since presumably more than one κάθων of wine would be required to cause the drunkenness mentioned in the last sentence and since more than one κάδος is to be opened.²⁾

κοῖλων : except for *Odyssey* 22. 385, where κοῖλον is a line-beginning, contraction is never required in Homer and the reading κοῖλ[preserved in the papyrus may be correct. - Page contends that "the epithet 'hollow' is added not because it is specially appropriate here, but for the contrary reason -- because it is *not* specially appropriate." Kirkwood disagrees, arguing that "the strong alliteration adds to the sense of urgency and energy in the passage; there is an intriguing prolepsis (the caskets are certainly *going* to be hollow when Archilochus and his friends are through); the transfer from the Homeric phrase 'hollow ships' to an unfamiliar phrase, describing caskets aboard a ship, gives the kind of epic/non-epic combination that is typical of Archilochus's style, and that individualizes the scene."

I am inclined to agree with the latter part of Kirkwood's argument (except that κάδοι are 'casks,' not 'caskets'), but I have my doubts about the prolepsis. Certainly no such explanation is necessary, since even though the κάδοι contain wine, they could still be called 'hollow,' just as the quiver in *Odyssey* 21. 417 is given this epithet in spite of its containing arrows. It is also possible that κοίλων describes the 'curved' shape of the κάδοι, as in *Odyssey* 22. 385 it is used of a 'curving shore' (κοῖλον ἐς αἴγιαλόν). Merone and some others believe that the epithet stresses the capacious size of the κάδοι, but the adjective can be used to describe any hollow ranging from that in a φλέψ to that in an entire district (Thessaly, Lacedaemon, etc.).³⁾

πώματα : the analogy of Hesiod *Erga* 94 γυνὴ χείρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελοῦσα, adduced by Degani and others, strongly supports his contention that πώματα means 'lids, covers,' not 'draughts.' The latter would also be somewhat tautological with the following οἶνον. Compare Tibullus 2. 1.28 *Chio solvite vinela cado* and the passage from *Odyssey* 2. 349 ff. cited below under κάδων.

ἄφελκε : Page, commenting on this and the following imperative, asks: "But what was the point of choosing such violent words? -- 'Wrench off the lids of the casks, seize the red wine from the lees'? It is likely that these are selected words; they add colour to the picture of carousal -- 'Let us attack the casks and grab as much as we can get'." There is no doubt that ἔλκω can be a "violent" word, but it is not always (compare ἔφέλκω in the passage from Euripides *Cyclops* cited below under κάδων) and I do not see how we can be certain that it is here. Another possibility is that the κάδοι are sealed, as in Theocritus 7. 147 τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ (and Gow *ad loc.*) and Horace *Odes* 3. 8.10-11 *corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit / amphorae*, so that even if Page is correct in his translation, the verb may have been chosen because of the effort required to prize off the lid rather than because of Archilochus' eagerness to get at the wine.

κάδων : most of the passages in which κάδος appears as a container for wine can be found in Athenaeus 11. 472 e - 473 b. Containers designated by this term clearly varied considerably in size and shape. Clitarchus *ap.* Athenaeus states that the Ionians called the κεράμιον a κάδος and Philochorus *ap.* Pollux 10. 71 states that παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς an ἀμφορεύς was called a κάδος. Hedylus *ap.* Athenaeus speaks of τετραχόδοις κάδοις, i.e., κάδοι containing about three gallons. For further details see D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 186-90 with plate 47.

Archilochus does not indicate where the κάδοι are stored. In *Odyssey* 2. 349 ff. twelve ἀμφιφορῆς are filled with wine, fitted with lids (πώματα), and stored on Telemachus' ship in preparation for his voyage to Sparta, but we are not told where they were stowed. The same is true of *Odyssey* 9. 163-65, but in 13. 21 Alcinous goes throughout Odysseus' ship and stows the gifts he has given Odysseus under the thwarts (ἰδὸν διὰ νηὸς ὑπὸ ζυγά). Wine is not included among the gifts, but presumably it too could be stowed in the same place. If, however, διὰ σέλματα indicates movement along the deck which ran the length of the ship, the implication of this is that the κάδοι are stowed on or more probably under the foredeck or the afterdeck.

In Synesius *Epist.* 32 Hercher, κεράμια of wine are stowed under the κατάστρωμα, 'deck.'⁴⁾ The most interesting parallel, however, is Euripides *Cyclops* 144. Odysseus has promised to give Silenus wine in return for provisions and Silenus asks, ἐν σέλμασιν νεώς ἔστιν, ή φέρεις σύ νιν; Unfortunately it is uncertain exactly what Euripides means by ἐν σέλμασιν and Ussher in his recent commentary on the play may be right in arguing that it is simply a periphrasis for ἐν νηὶ. It can hardly mean 'on the thwarts,' since wine stored there would be in the way of the rowers, and if any specific location is intended, it must be 'at (by, among) the thwarts' or 'on the deck.' It is perhaps possible that Euripides had Archilochus' poem in mind when he composed this section. In vv. 139 and 147 we find πῶμα, though with the meaning 'draught' rather than 'lid,' and in v. 151 Odysseus says he is bringing along a cup together with the wine-skin, ἐφέλκω καὶ ποτῆρ' ἀσκοῦ μέτα.

One problem remains. Why does Archilochus use the plural when presumably one κάδος would be sufficient to cause drunkenness? Perhaps they are nearing the end of their voyage and the κάδοι are almost empty (see note 3), but I think it more likely that in his eagerness to get drunk he exaggerates the number of κάδοι they will consume. We should also recognize that ἡμεῖς in v.8 may include more than two people.

8 ἄγρει : as was mentioned above under ἀφελκε, Page takes this to be a violent word, 'seize,' but here too I do not see how we can be certain of the meaning intended. Homer uses the verb merely as a virtual synonym of ἄγε in v.6, i.e., with a following imperative rather than accusative. Its only other early instances in literature are in Sappho fr. 31. 13-14 τρόμος δὲ παῖσαν ἄγρει and Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 126 ἄγρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδει μέλευθος. Some element of violence is present in these passages, especially in the latter example, but there is none in the compounds παλινάγρετος and αὐτάγρετος, both of which are Homeric.

οἶνον ἐρυθρόν : this combination occurs six times in the *Odyssey*, always at line-end, but never in the *Iliad*. For its position in Archilochus compare *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 208. In view of the Homeric parallels I doubt that the epithet has any special significance in Archilochus. Athenaeus 1. 26 b states that μέλας (= ἐρυθρός) wine is δυναμικώτατος, but this does not justify Merone's argument that Archilochus is calling for "un energetico di grande potenza." Whenever a colour-adjective is applied to wine in the early period it is always μέλας, ἐρυθρός or αἴθοψ, all of which are synonyms.

ἀπὸ τρυγός : literally 'away from the lees.' The idea is not so much to avoid disturbing the lees (if the κώθων is of the type described by Critias with an inward-curving lip, some lees in the cup would not matter anyway) as to draw the wine all the way from where the lees are, i.e., in effect all the way to the bottom. All the wine is to be removed, with only the lees left behind. The same idea can be expressed in various ways: compare ἐς τρύγα χεῖλος ἐρείδων (Theocritus 7. 70), μέχρι τρυγός (Synesius *Epist.* 32 Hercher), *poti... faece tenus cadi* (Horace *Odes* 3. 15.16). In Lucian *Timon* 19 ἐν τῇ τρυγὶ

τοῦ πίθου means 'in the bottom of the jar.' Treu suggests that ἀπὸ τρυγός might indicate that the wine has already been drawn off almost to the lees, that only a little wine is left in the κάδοι when Archilochus gives his instructions, but this seems a less natural interpretation of the Greek.

οὐδὲ γάρ ἡμεῖς : three meanings of the negative can be postulated: (1) 'for not even we shall stay sober (in spite of our being on watch),' (2) 'for we too shall not stay sober (since others are getting drunk),' and (3) οὐδέ as an emphatic οὐ. See Denniston, *Greek Particles* 190-98. A decision is impossible in view of the fragmentary nature of the poem, but οὐδέ as an emphatic negative seems to me to be preferable. For οὐδὲ γάρ plus a pronoun after the bucolic diaeresis compare *Iliad* 10. 25 and *Odyssey* 23. 266. There is no reason not to take ἡμεῖς as a genuine plural, though whether it includes more than two people cannot be determined. Nor can it be determined whether the person ordered to bring wine is one of those on watch or someone else, perhaps a slave.

9 νηφέμεν : Athenaeus records νήφειν μὲν, which Musurus altered to νήφειν ἐν, but the papyrus gives us νηφέ[ι]ν according to Grenfell and Hunt, νηφέμεν according to West. The presence of an accent in the papyrus over the *epsilon* supports West's reading, although it should be noted that infinitives in -έμεν or -έμεναι are not found elsewhere in the remains of Archilochus. νήφω is predominantly a prose word, although a participial form appears three times in the *Theognidea*.

έν φυλακῇ τῆιδε : there are seven examples of φυλακῇ in Homer and in every instance a night-watch is involved. The same is therefore probably true here too. It is unclear, however, whether the watch is onboard ship or on land, though the latter seems more likely. There are numerous references in Homer and Apollonius to putting into land at night and sometimes we are specifically told that they spend the night ashore, no doubt because sleeping would be more comfortable ashore than on a ship. When Odysseus and his men reach the island near the land of the Cyclopes, they engage in a successful hunt and spend the rest of the day in feasting and

drinking, οὐ γάρ πω νηῶν ἔξεφθιτο οἶνος ἐρυθρός, / ἀλλ' ἐνέην· πολλὸν γάρ ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσιν ἔκαστοι / ἡφύσαμεν Κικόνων ιερὸν πτολίεθρον ἐλόντες (9. 163-65). Then they spend the night ἐπὶ δηγμῆνι θαλάσσης (169). The implication is that the wine is carried from the ships and drunk ashore. But in Archilochus, even though the rest of the ship's company may be ashore, it is possible that a watch was kept on the ship, either instead of or in addition to a watch on land.⁵⁾

For some form of ὅδε in this position in the pentameter compare Theognis 56; 354; 604; 782, and Tyrtaeus fr. 4.8 W. In none of these, however, does the demonstrative modify a noun in the first half of the line. The same is true for οὗτος, at least in early elegy.

In conclusion, we can say with reasonable confidence that it is night, that the ship is not in motion, and that Archilochus is instructing someone to make repeated trips, cup in hand, across the deck or through the thwarts in order to obtain the wine which will provide relief for those on watch. Monaco is surely right in arguing against the interpretation defended by Gigante that the first command represents the action of extending a cup to the lips of each rower as he is rowing. Not only does this involve a most unlikely *hysteron proteron* with the last two commands, but also the evidence of the rest of the fragment is opposed to such an interpretation. Everything from 6 ἀλλ' ἄγε to 8 τρυγός represents a logical progression of actions directed towards one goal, the statement in the last sentence that those on watch will not stay sober. Finally, many of the colourful additions made by commentators should be banished from any discussion of this poem. There is no evidence, for example, that "la mer est mauvaise" (Bonnard on fr. 12 L-B), that there is "stringimento di cuore" (Pontani), that it is cold (Pieraccioni) or, incredibly, that our poem is proof of a "profondo senso d'umanità di Archiloco".⁶⁾

NOTES

1) The following works will be cited hereafter by the name of the author only: O. A. Bologna, *Archiloco* (Firenze 1975) 33-36; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971); E. Degani, "Marginalia," *Helikon* 3 (1963) 485-86; A. Garzya, "Una variazione archilochea in Sinesio," *Maia* 10 (1958) 66-71, reprinted in *Studi sulla lirica greca* (Messina-Firenze 1963) 161-69; B. Gentili, "Interpretazione di Archiloco fr. 2 D. = 7 L.-B.," *RFIC* 93 (1965) 129-34; M. Gigante, "Interpretazioni archilochee," *Atti dell' Accademia Pontaniana* n.s. 7 (1958) 51-55; G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca 1974) 226; E. Merone, *Aggettivazione, sintassi e figure di stile in Archiloco* (Napoli 1960) 16-18; G. Monaco, "De fragmento Archilochi 5 A Diehl," *Atti dell' Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Palermo* 4.16 (1955-56) 185-91, and "Nota archilochea," *A&R* 5 (1960) 19-22; D. L. Page, *Archiloque*, Entretiens sur l' antiquité classique 10 (Genève 1964) 128-31; D. Pieraccioni, *Antologia della lirica greca* (3rd ed., Firenze 1967) 16-17; F. M. Pontani, *Plejadi. Frammenti di lirica greca* (Roma 1952) 13-15; M. Treu, *Archilochos* (München 1959) 191.

2) Garzya argues that *φοίτα* denotes a furtive movement, but the fact that this verb is sometimes used of shades and sleep-visions is not sufficient reason to assume that furtiveness is an essential aspect of its meaning. In these contexts the verb, as Gentili points out, suggests a roaming or flitting movement.

3) It is perhaps not impossible that *κοίλων* means 'almost empty,' as in Socrates *ap.* Athenaeus 9. 388 a, *τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοίλου ὀυέντος* (compare also Thucydides 7. 84.4). If this were so, it would explain the need for more than one *κάδος*.

4) Garzya finds allusions to Archilochus' poem in this letter, but the similarities do not seem to me to be close enough to support any connection between the two.

5) Gentili argues that Synesius *Epist.* 130, with its references to sentry-duty and the difficulty of staying awake, is support for his view that *δορὶ* in fr. 2 W. means 'ship' and that it formed part of the same poem as fr. 4. Although fr. 2 is quoted in this letter and although Gentili may well be right in his explanation of *δορὶ*, I see little evidence that Synesius had fr. 4 in mind when he wrote his letter. The only verbal similarity is that between *φυλακάς* and *φυλακῆς*.

6) Although I do not believe it has any bearing on the interpretation of the fragment, something should be said about the circumstances surrounding the poem's composition and delivery. My assumption is that it was recited at some convivial gathering, as was probably true for much of Archilochus' poetry, but there is no way of determining when it was composed. This might be evident if we had the entire poem, but I see no reason why Archilochus at a symposium could not have said something like, "Here are some verses I composed recently when on watch," and then proceeded to recite this poem. Whether it was actually composed during the watch or at a later time, is another matter. He might well have given the poem at least a rudimentary form while on watch and then polished it later.

PYTHIAN 5.72-76, 9.90-92, AND THE VOICE OF PINDAR

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These two controversial passages both have a bearing on the manifold problem of the poetic first person in Pindar. Therefore, while my principal concern in this paper is with the interpretation of the passages themselves, it is appropriate to begin with some comments on the broader issue. Study of the passages themselves needs some general basis of understanding and perhaps, too, what is offered here toward the clarification of the individual passages may have some value for the larger question as well.

For a long time Pindaric criticism was dominated by a thoroughgoing biographical approach. If the poet announces, in an epinician ode, that he has accompanied Diagoras to Rhodes (*O.* 7.13) or has stood at the courtyard door of Chromios (*N.* 1.19), critics accepted this as a literal report of Pindar's activities and were ready to reconstruct from such information a kind of Mediterranean travel diary for the poet. Very likely some of these statements are literally true, but as specific evidence they are worthless; in *O.* 7 Pindar not only "comes down" with Diagoras, he also "sends" his poem to Rhodes (line 8), and if we are going to interpret these personal data literally we shall have to choose carefully and reject some. It is sobering to realize that even so widely accepted a "historical" event as Pindar's trip to Sicily rests on the insecure foundation of a few such passages, which may all be only metaphorical journeyings. But the historical interpretation of such incidental clues is at worst only a slight irrelevance. Where the procedure assumes interpretative significance is in its application to extensive passages which, in this biographical view, constitute statements about Pindar's

actions and feelings with no necessary relevance to the poem as a whole. The most famous of such passages is the final triad of *P.* 2. There is no need to quote at length from biographical interpretations of this admittedly strange and difficult passage, but an indication of what is essentially misguided about this procedure, so far as the criticism of Pindar's poetry is concerned, is apparent in a sentence in the discussion of the passage by Farnell, one of the latest in time and most assiduous of biographical critics: "We can only imagine that something happened to start Pindar off afresh, after he had brought his letter" - Farnell characterizes *P.* 2 as a "lyrical letter" rather than a true epinician - "to a close."¹⁾ The weakness of this critical approach lies not in the quality of the historical reconstruction -- which may even be correct -- but in its irrelevance to the poem as a whole and its ready assumption that Pindar has willingly damaged the unity of the poem by the gratuitous introduction of his own personal concerns and views. In fairness it must be granted that Farnell was writing at a time when many critics despaired of finding unity in the individual odes.²⁾ It is significant that later critics, looking at the poem not for biographical information but for integrity of poetic meaning, have had no trouble in finding poetic unity in *P.* 2,³⁾ though I do not mean to suggest that all the interpretative problems of this passage are thereby solved.

For reasons which are not all either wrong or negligible, critics of ancient Greek poetry were slow to relinquish the biographical approach, though so far as Pindar is concerned Schadewaldt had, in 1928, in *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinicion*, begun to move toward the emphasis on text which was at that time becoming a leading tenet of Russian formalist criticism and the New Criticism,⁴⁾ and since Bundy's influential *Studia Pindarica* (1962) the biographical approach has largely been superseded. Critics are no longer likely to concentrate their attention on the creation of a life of Pindar of Thebes out of the first-person statements in the poems. But the problem of the poetic persona in ancient Greek lyric poetry and related genres is complicated by the fact that, so much being fragmentary, it is very difficult to know, even at the most literal

level, what voice we are hearing, -- the poet's, or a voice deliberately at odds with the poet, or a voice that is one of two or more engaged in dialogue.⁵⁾ In choral poetry, and especially in the epinician, the difficulty is compounded, both because the manner of its presentation inevitably creates some merging of the poet and the chorus and because the epinician is by the very nature of the genre anchored to a historical moment and to personal data. Not only are we given, in some of the poems, a good deal of information about the victor's previous athletic achievements and about the accomplishments and the status of his family, but there are passages too that can only be interpreted as providing personal information about the poet himself. Thus in the opening strophe of *I. 1*, the poet announces, in effect, that he has put the composition of the present poem, for a Theban compatriot, ahead of another "engagement" (*ἀσχολία*); he trusts that "rocky Delos will not be indignant," and hopes for a double success, with the help of the gods, both in the present ode and "celebrating in dance (*χορεύων*⁶⁾ long-haired Phoebus in sea-girt Keos, with sailing men." A paean, composed for a chorus from Keos to perform at Delos, is partially preserved (fr. 52d). The title is lost, but the contents of the first strophe provide reasonably certain identification, and beyond serious doubt this is the poem referred to as Pindar's other engagement. In *I. 8.5-11*, Pindar calls upon himself to lay aside his own sorrow because he is "called upon to summon the golden Muse," and a little later declares that "a god has removed the stone of Tantalus from overhead, a burden beyond endurance for Greece." It is a fair assumption that the poet's grief is for the Persian invasion and the inglorious part played in it by Thebes. In both cases Pindar is talking about the emotions and concerns of Pindar of Thebes. At the same time, there is in these personal references no breach of epinician unity or convention. They are simply extensive examples of the poet's relationship of *xenia* toward his patron, a relationship which has been carefully examined by Mary Lefkowitz.⁷⁾ The willingness of Pindar to lay aside his personal grief or his previous obligation for the advantage of his patron is an integral part of the encomiastic nature of the epinician. But the passages do introduce into his poem personal

matters that have a basis of existence outside the poem itself. They are neither intrusive biography (because they are relevant) nor merely "conventional masks and gestures," as Bundy designates such passages⁸).

For the most part, of course, the "I" or "we" of the poet is a good deal less personal and individualized than in these two passages. Sometimes it is no more than the epinician poet as such, discharging his encomiastic function, as when, in *O.* 7.7 the poet sends "liquid nectar, gift of the Muses," and at *N.* 3.11 he "will blend" his song "to the voices" of the chorus "and to the lyre." Often the poet himself blends with the singers, as at *O.* 6.3, πάξομεν, or with his song, as in the proemium of *O.* 2: "Hymns, masters of the lyre, what god, what hero, what man shall we celebrate?" Often the poet speaks as the friend, adviser, or sharer, in the impersonal tone of the philosopher (*P.* 11.50): "May I love fair things that come with the will of the gods, and desire, in season, the attainable." The voice often takes a more individual and independent tone, and becomes the voice of the poet of the ὄρθος λόγος or the independent innovator, or the poet who rejects the graceful lies of Homer. When Pindar rejects the traditional story of Tantalus, in *O.* 1, the lies of Homer in *N.* 7, the rancor of Archilochus in *P.* 2, and when he asserts his originality, as at *O.* 9.48-49 ("Praise old wine but the flowers of new songs") he is again approaching the individuality and personal quality of the two extensive passages noticed above. The apparent excitement, or even distress or embarrassment, of some first-person references in passages of transition, as when the poet alleges that he has lost his course (*P.* 11.38-40) or is in danger of shipwreck (*N.* 3.26-27), does not, of course, mean that the poet is expressing a real embarrassment or fear, or that he has in fact strayed from what he meant to say; and the poet's reproach to his θυμός for lingering over a mention of Heracles, in *N.* 3, is a dramatic way of making transition from the praise of this greatest of epinician figures, who is always relevant in epinician poetry, to the more immediate matter of the present ode. There is no need to enlarge; this aspect of Pindar's style has been recognized and categorized⁹). But we are wrong if we dismiss these dramatic transitions as purely conventional. Pin-

dar's assertions of his leadership in poetry (P. 4.247-48) and his devotion to the greatness of Heracles (along with the passage in *N.* 3, *N.* 1.33-34 is particularly striking) are personal, not just the views of "the poet" or even the epinician poet, but of the poet Pindar. Bacchylides too has his formulas of transition, and they are in a very different tone.

This, then, is the voice¹⁰⁾ of the poet in the Pindaric epinician. Its tone is manifold, its function both conventional and expressive of the strong presence of Pindar of Thebes. A recognition of its range and its style will help, I believe, in the interpretation of the two passages to which we now turn.

P. 5.72-76 is one of a very few passages in the epinicians of Pindar in which some critics, ancient and modern, have believed that they hear another voice, that of the performing chorus. The probability of the sporadic intrusion of an exclusively choral first person, in the midst of a vast majority of first-person references which clearly mean the poet, is at the outset, very slight. The case against it has been strongly and, in my opinion, successfully argued by Mary Lefkowitz, who distinguishes between the epinicians, in which there are no first-person references that exclude the poet, and other choral types, the partheneion and the paean, in which there is, beyond doubt, a choral "I" or "we."¹¹⁾ The distinction by genre is not surprising. Partheneia and paeans, like dithyrambs, were composed for formal, communal occasions of religious celebration. For all these genres we know, from the poems themselves or from other sources, something about the constitution of the choral group. So it is also with the choruses of drama. The occasion for singing an epinician was, so far as we know, less formal, more personal, and the personal link was between poet and victor, and between poet and community.

In spite of some apparent evidence to the contrary, P. 5.72-76 provides no exception to Pindar's epinician practice with regard to the first person. In the preceding sentence, from line 63, the poet is speaking of Apollo,

Who grants to men and women healing from heavy disease, who has bestowed the lyre and gives the Muse to whomever he will, bringing lawfulness without discord into men's hearts, who holds sway in his prophetic chamber; who has in Lacedaemon, in Argos, and in sacred Pylos caused the stalwart sons of Heracles to dwell.

Then follows the debated passage:

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύειν
ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος,
ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι
75 ἵκοντο Θήρανδες φῶτες Αἴγειδαι,
ἔμοι πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερο, ἀλλὰ Μοῖρά τις ἄγεν.

First, the text of line 72 needs comment. Most modern editions read γαρύει, to replace the MSS vulgate γαρύετ' (γαρύατ' and γαρύεντ' also occur), which is taken in the scholia as γαρύεται with elision but can be virtually ruled out on metrical grounds. With γαρύει the usual and most probably interpretation is to take Apollo as subject. But the assertion that Apollo "sings my lovely fame" (whether the poet's or the choros's) rings false. Apollo grants the lyre and gives the Muse to whom he will, but he does not, in Pindar's poetry, celebrate the excellence of mortals¹²⁾. That is the rôle of the poet, under divine inspiration. Hermann's γαρύειν is at least as probable palaeographically and restores both good sense, "It is my task to sing of a lovely fame from Sparta," and good idiom; I. 8.38-39 provides a striking parallel: τὸ μὲν ἐμόν... ὄπασσαι.

This reading does not ensure that "I" means the poet, though it makes the sentence correspond closely to the many passages in which Pindar speaks of his obligation, as epinician poet, to the victor and his community; it is one form of the convention which Hamilton classifies as "poet's task."¹³⁾ Consideration of the phrase in relation to its context and to other epinician conventions strengthens the case for "I" as poet. First, the relevance of τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύειν to what precedes is strengthened. Apollo is praised as the healer of diseases; we know from Herodotus (3.131) that Cyrene was famous for its physicians as well as for the export of the medicinal plant silphium. He is called the bestower of song; the relevance to Pindar's poem is obvious. He is god of prophecy; it was his prophecies, we know from P. 4.54-57 and from Herodotus (4.150-57), that led to the founding of Cyrene. He is the sponsor of Dorian states, from which Cyrene was founded. Then comes the first-person statement: it is my office, says Pindar, as the representative of Apolline

musical inspiration, to praise this state founded under Apollo's auspices, founded from Sparta (by way of Thera) by the Aigeidai, who are my ancestors. We know from Herodotus (4.149) and from *I.* 7.12-15 that Aigeidai from Thebes were in Lacedaemon. We need not press the point as to whether Pindar was in fact a member of that family or means simply that as a Theban, offspring, as were the Aigeidai, of μᾶτερ ἐμά,... Θήβα, as he invokes Thebes in the opening line of *I.* 1, Pindar can call any Thebans of old his "ancestors."

This is precisely the kind of close link between Pindar and Thebes and his patron that we see exemplified in other poems. *O.* 6 gives an extraordinarily close parallel. The ode is for a Syracusan whose family had come from Stymphalos, in Arcadia, the home of the water-nymph Metopa, who was by legend the mother of Thebe, eponymous nymph of Thebes. Hence, to Pindar, Metopa is ματρομάτωρ ἐμά, "my grandmother" (*O.* 6.84), and Pindar finds in this a close bond with his Syracusan patron. There is nothing here that is not entirely in accord with the epinician poetic ego. To fail to recognize it is to lose a part of the emotional power and intensity lent to the poetry by the poet's very personal presence in it¹⁴⁾.

P. 9.89a-92 exemplifies just the opposite interpretative danger. Here we must remove the person of the poet from a rôle in which he has been improperly made to appear. The context of these lines is riddled with problems, but clarification of the point at issue does not require that most of these be broached here. As general background to discussion, it will be enough to say that lines 76-104 of *P.* 9 consist, basically, of a listing of victories won by the addressee of the ode, Telesikrates of Cyrene, at various minor games. In itself, this is a recurrent feature of the epinician, but there are enough obscurities in the passage to have given rise to an enormous variety of interpretations. In my opinion the right line of interpretation was established by Schroeder¹⁵⁾ and worked out convincingly by Burton: ¹⁶⁾ the ode was performed in Cyrene, and the passage has nothing to do with Pindar's relations with Thebes but only with Telesikrates' athletic prowess, Pindar's skill in honoring it, and mythological precedents for both.

Lines 89a-92, as they appear in the Snell-Maehler Teubner text, are as follows:

Χαρίτων κελαδευνῶν
μή με λίποι καθαρὸν φέγγος. Αἰγίνᾳ τε γάρ
φαμὶ Νίσου τ' ἐν λόφῳ τρίς
δὴ πόλιν τάνδ' εύκλεῖξαι,
σιγαλὸν ἀμαχανίαν ἔργῳ φυγῶν.

May the pure glow of the singing Graces not desert me. For I declare that on Aegina and on Nisus' hill I have thrice brought fame to this city, fleeing by my deed the helplessness of silence.

Again we are faced with a textual problem, slight in compass, with a convincing solution again provided by Hermann, and absolutely crucial to the understanding of the passage. The reading εύκλεῖξαι is fraught with problems. An epinician poet "brings fame" to a city by composing epinician odes in honor of that city's successful competitors. With εύκλεῖξαι, "this city" must be Thebes; there is not the remotest likelihood that Pindar has three times composed victory odes for competitors from Cyrene at Aegina and Megara ("on Nisus' hill").¹⁷⁾ The poet is, then, declaring that he has three times honored Thebes by poems composed for victories at Aegina and Megara; but why he speaks of glorifying Thebes by composing odes for such occasions is obscure indeed. Contests at Aegina and Megara are the minor leagues of ancient athletics, and, what is more compelling, we have no evidence that Pindar ever composed odes for victories at either place. But with Hermann's εύκλεῖξας at 91 and φαμὶ taken as parenthetical, perfect intelligibility and conformity with the conventions of the Pindaric epinician are achieved: "At Aegina and on Nisus' hill, I declare, *you* have thrice brought glory to this city," i.e., Cyrene, the victor's state, "escaping by your deed the helplessness of silence." For this parenthetical φαμὶ P. 3.75-76 φαμὶ... ἔξινδμαν κε provides an excellent parallel.

Responsible scholars are reluctant to accept an easy emendation as a cure for an interpretative difficulty, but here, though analysis quickly reveals the grave problems raised by MSS reading, at a superficial level εύκλεῖξας is, in view of φαμὶ, the *lectio difficilior*, and some of Pindar's most percep-

tive and thoughtful editors, Alexander Turyn among them, have adopted this emendation. My aim is to call attention to three aspects of epinician style and form that argue in its favor.

First, the phrase *Αἰγίνα τε...* Νίσου τ' ἐν λόφῳ. I have called attention to the extreme improbability that Pindar is referring to other odes written by him. There is also a positive argument to the same effect. In two other listings of previous victories of the recipient of the ode, victories at Aegina and Megara are listed side by side. At *O.* 7.86-87, in the great victory list of Diagoras, occupying a position of relative insignificance at the end of the list, we read: *Αἰγίνα τε νικῶνθ' ἐξάκις· ἐν Μεγάροισιν τ' οὐχ ἔτερον λιθίνα / ψῆφος ἔχει λόγον.* And in the list of Xenophon's successes, in *O.* 13, sandwiched between victories at Argos, Arcadia, Pellene, and Sicyon and others at Eleusis and Marathon, are the same pair, 109: *καὶ Μέγαρ' Αἰακιδᾶν τ' εύερηκές ἄλσος...* That here too in *P.* 9 this pair refer to the victor's exploits, not the poet's, is hard to doubt.

Second, there is the evidence of the words *πόλιν τάνδ'*. In epinician language this phrase can be expected to refer to the victor's state; it does so at *P.* 8.99, *πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε* (Aegina), at *O.* 5.20-21,¹⁸⁾ *πόλιν... τάνδε... δαιδάλλειν* (Camaria, cf. *τόνδε δᾶμον*, line 14), and at *I.* 5.22, *τάνδ' ἐς εὖομον πόλιν* (Aegina). In fact, of all the many occasions when Pindar uses the word *ὅδε* referring to this land, this city, this people, etc., there is not one comparable phrase that does not refer to the victor's homeland. There would probably never have been any question raised about the reference of *πόλιν τάνδ* had it not been for the word *δέξεται* in line 73, which in older criticism was taken to indicate that the victor had not yet returned to Cyrene at the time of the poem's performance. Modern criticism of Pindar has firmly established one point -- if little else -- namely that such verbal tenses are not to be interpreted literally¹⁹⁾. *Δέξεται*, like *κελαδήσω*, *O.* 11.14, takes the stance of the composing poet toward the performance of the ode, and provides no evidence against the natural assumption that *ὅδε πόλις* is the victor's state.

A third point of epinician style and language may seem less decisive than these two, but I believe that it is equally so:

it is not the poet but the victor who escapes silence by his ἔργον. I need not elaborate on this point, since Burton²⁰⁾ has presented the case convincingly and with parallel examples. In short, as Burton argues, ἔργον is quite the wrong word for the poet's activity, exactly right for the victor's achievement; and the silence is the oblivion of the man who has not achieved success and renown, not the poet's inability to find words -- a strange condition for Pindar to suggest as a possibility for himself.

To Burton's argument the following points can be added. Though Pindarists speak, correctly, of "Schuld" and of the poet's task,"²¹⁾ it is conspicuous that this obligation is never (unless here) referred to as an ἔργον. On the contrary, the poet's task is a response to the victor's ἔργον, and the basic relationship of poem to victory is the relationship of $\chi\alpha\delta\iota\kappa$, as Schadewaldt observes. Over and over again, song is reward, the fulfillment, the healing balm for the toil of the contest. *I.* 3.7 is a good example: "As a reward for deeds of fair fame ($\varepsilon\acute{u}n\lambda\acute{e}w\acute{v}\ \delta'$ ἔργων $\acute{a}πoι\acute{v}\alpha$) we must sing of a good man." Deeds bring escape from oblivion, provided they meet with their complement of song. This is simply one form of statement of the Pindaric belief that victory requires song for its fulfillment. *N.* 7.11-16 provides a clear parallel: "If a man succeeds in action, he gives sweet cause for the flow of the Muses' stream; great acts of prowess, lacking song, stay in deep darkness; we know but one way to provide a mirror for fair deeds, if by grace of Mnemosyne of the shining headband reward for toil is found in glorifying songs of praise."

In *P.* 5.72-76, to deny the presence of the poet's voice is to fail to reckon with the comprehensiveness and the personal intensity of the blend of poet and epinician occasion; in *P.* 9.90-92, to apply to the poet these descriptive phrases is to misunderstand the conventions of the epinician description of poetry and victory and the relationship between them. In both passages the poet has a prominent and significant place. While we cannot safely extrapolate from this presence biographical facts about Pindar of Thebes, we can see that it is more than a set of conventions determined by the genre. The conventions

are there and must be recognized for understanding of the poetry. They are important clues to the interpretation of the two dominant presences in a Pindaric epinician, the poet and the victor.

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NOTES

1) L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1965, p.127.

2) See David C. Young's "Pindaric Criticism," reprinted in *Pindaros und Bakchylides*, ed. W.M. Calder, III, and Jacob Stern, Darmstadt, 1970, pp.38-58.

3) See especially Erich Thummer, *Rhein. Mus.* 115 (1972) 293-307.

4) For Russian formalist views see Boris Tomáševskij, "Literatura i biografija" (1923), reprinted in translation as "Literature and Biography," pp.47-55 of *Readings in Russian Poetics*, edited by Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska, Ann Arbor, 1978. On New Criticism, see, e.g., "The New Critics" (1947), by Robert W. Stallman, reprinted as pp.488-506 of *Critiques and Essays in Criticism*, edited by Stallman, New York, 1949. The concentration on the life and personality of the poet, against which the formalists and New Critics rebelled, was itself a movement of rebellion from eighteenth century criticism; see M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* (Oxford, 1953), Ch.9.

5) The best discussion of the problem as it relates to ancient Greek poetry is in K.J. Dover's "The Poetry of Archilochus," *Archiloque ("Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique," Tome X)*, Geneva, 1963, pp.181-212.

6) A good indication of the variety of usage of the first person in Greek choral poetry is given by the fact that this word, here clearly referring in the first person to the poet, is used, also in the first person singular, by a tragic chorus: $\tauι \deltaει \muε \chiορεύειν$; Soph. *O. T.* 896.

7) "ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ: The First Person in Pindar," *H.S.C.P.* 67 (1963) 177-253; see especially 210-25.

8) *Studia Pindarica* II, 35.

9) See Wolfgang Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion* (1966, reprinted Darmstadt, 1966, pp.19-20, and Richard Hamilton, *Epinikion* (The Hague, 1974) 16-17.

10) My use of the word "voice" is borrowed from T.S. Eliot's 1953 essay "The Three Voices of Poetry." Eliot's threefold division consists of the voice of the poet talking to himself, the voice of the poet addressing an audience, and the multiple voice of dramatic poetry. Though in an earlier essay, "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919), Eliot carefully distinguished the personal emotions of the poet from his poetry ("The more perfect the artist, the more completely separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates; the more perfectly will the mind digest and transmute the passions..."), in the latter essay he shows no hesitation in regarding the two non-dramatic voices as the personal voice

the poet. It is clear that poets can have varying attitudes to the relationship between poet and poetry. In a letter dated October 27, 1818, Keats altogether (though perhaps not altogether seriously) denies existence to the "poetical character" ("it has no self -- It is everything and nothing -- It has no character -- it enjoys light and shade; it lives and gusts...") but limits this description to "that sort, of which, if I anything, I am a member; that sort distinguished from the Wordsworthian, egotistical Sublime." We could, I think, substitute "Pindaric" for "Wordsworthian" without violating Keats's meaning.

11) Op. cit., note 7. Lyric genres in which there is a choral voice can also present the voice of the poet. *Paean* 6 and fr. 94a (usually classified as a partheneion) both do so.

12) Farnell, op. cit. (note 1), p.176 interprets as "the fair tale of renown gives voice from Sparta," and Lefkowitz follows this, op. cit. (note 7), p.177. This is extremely improbable, because it ascribes an intransitive sense to *γαρύει* which the active forms of this verb nowhere have. If this were the MSS reading there would at least be the evidence of this passage for such a meaning; but it is not.

13) Hamilton, op. cit. (note 9), p.16; cf. Schadewaldt, op. cit., pp.19-20.

14) Cf. Gildersleeve, *Pindar, The Olympian and Pythian Odes*, 311.

15) *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig, 1922), 85-87.

16) R.W.B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford, 1962), 48-53.

17) The reference cannot be only to the glory bestowed by *this* ode; οὐδὲ εὔλετέξαι rules that out.

18) Even if ο. 5 is not by Pindar, there is good reason to believe that it was composed under Pindar's influence. Cf. C.M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford, 1964) 414-20.

19) See Bundy on *κελαδήσω* ο. 11.14 (*Studio Pindarica* 1.20-22), Burton δέξεται (*Pindar's Pythian Odes*, pp.53-54); Schroeder, op. cit. (note 85, and, for numerous examples, Erich Thümmer, *Pindars Isthmische Dichtungen* (Heidelberg, 1968) 1.128.

20) Op. cit. (note 16) 52-53.

21) Cf. Schadewaldt, op. cit., 20; Hamilton, op. cit., 16-17.

VERSUMSTELLUNGEN IN DER GRIECHISCHEN TRAGOEDIE

HARTMUT ERBSE

Alexandro Turyn octogenario

I. AISCHYLOS CHOEPHOREN 84 - 100

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

δημωιαὶ γυναῖκες, δωμάτων εύθημονες,
 85 ἐπεὶ πάρεστε τῆσδε προστροπῆς ἐμοὶ
 πομποὶ, γένεσθε τῶνδε σύμβουλοι πέρι.
 τὸν φῶ χέουσα τάσδε κηδείους χοάς;
 πῶς εὔφρον' εἴπω; πῶς κατεύξωμαι πατρός;
 πότερα λέγουσα παρὰ φίλης φίλωι φέρειν
 90 γυναικὸς ἀνδρός, τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα;
 τῶνδ' οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος, ούδ' ἔχω τὸν φῶ
 χέουσα τόνδε πελανὸν ἐν τύμβῳ πατρός.
 ή τοῦτο φάσκω τοῦπος, ὃς νόμος βροτοῖς,
 95 ἵστηται τοῦσι πέμπουσιν τάδε
 στέφη, δόσιν γε τῶν κακῶν ἐπαξίαν;
 ή σιγὸν ἀτίμως, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπώλετο
 πατήρ, τάδε ἐκχέασα, γάποτον χύσιν,
 στείχω, καθάρμαθ' ὃς τις ἐκπέμψας, πάλιν
 δικοῦσα τεῦχος ἀστρόφοισιν δύμασιν;
 100 τῆσδε ἔστε βουλῆς, ὃ φίλαι, μεταίτιαι...

Da Elektra sich scheut, die von der Mutter gewünschte Totenspende darzubringen, bittet sie den Chor um Rat. Sie erwähnt drei Möglichkeiten: Soll sie das Opfer in der anbefohlenen Weise vollziehen (89-92), soll sie den Vater mit den herkömmlichen Worten bitten, Gleiches mit Gleichem zu vergelten, d.h. in diesem Fall: der Mörderin Vergeltung zu senden (93-95),

oder soll sie die Spende ohne Gebet ausgiessen und das Gerät abgewandten Blickes hinter sich werfen, dem Toten also Trank und Ehre verweigern (96-99)? Wir können hier davon absehen, dass Elektra, vom Chor angeregt, später einen vierten (hier nicht ausdrücklich genannten) Weg einschlagen wird (vgl. 119 ff.): Sie betet dann offen um das Erscheinen des Rächers. Der Chor schliesst sich ihren Bitten an und fleht zum toten Herrn des Hauses, das Trankopfer nicht als Befleckung seines Grabes zu verstehen, sondern im Sinne der Betenden anzunehmen (bis 163)¹⁾. Was also dann tatsächlich geschieht, ist eine Variante des in den Versen 93-95 erwogenen Vorschlages.

Von den drei zunächst genannten Möglichkeiten nun ist nur die erste durch Zusatz der Zeilen 91-92 als undurchführbar gekennzeichnet. Das gab Anlass zu Zweifeln an der Richtigkeit der überlieferten Stellung dieser Verse. Zuletzt hat Diggle²⁾ derartige Bedenken, unter Berücksichtigung älterer Versuche, klar hervorgehoben:

1) Die Durchführung von Klytaimestras Auftrag verlange keinen Mut ('courage'). Die Formulierung $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\delta'$ οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος passe also nach den Versen 89-90 nicht, es sei denn, man verstehe θάρσος als 'Frechheit'. Das aber sei in der Sprache der Tragödie nicht möglich.

2) Der Satz οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ / χέουσα τόνδε πελανὸν ἐν τύμβῳ πατρός sei nach V. 87, wo Elektra ja dieselbe Frage stelle, eine leere Wiederholung³⁾.

Diggle hat deshalb die Verse 91-98 hinter Vers 99 gerückt. Er kann nun die Behauptung $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\delta'$ οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος auf die dritte Möglichkeit (d.h. auf die Verweigerung des Opfers) beziehen und in den folgenden Worten (οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ κτλ.) eine Anspielung auf V. 87 erblicken⁴⁾. Page hat diese Anordnung der Verse in seine neue Aischylosausgabe (Oxford 1972) übernommen und im Haupttext, sogar unter Änderung der Verszählung, durchgeführt. Aber Bedenken bleiben zurück:

1) Hinter V. 99 ist die Wendung $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\delta'$ οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος nicht sinnvoller als am überlieferten Ort; denn zur Durchführung der dritten Möglichkeit bedurfte es keines besonderen Mutes. Wer die καθάρματα abgewandten Blickes wegwarf, war gegen die Enttäuschung der Geister geschützt⁵⁾. Das gilt be-

sonders dann, wenn das Scholion mit der Wiedergabe eines athenischen Brauches recht hat (98 a): *τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναῖοις ἔθος, ὅτι καθαίροντες οἰκίαν ὄστρακίνωι θυμιατηρίωι δίψαντες ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις τὸ ὄστρακον ἀμεταστρεπτεῖ ἀνεχώρουν.* Nach Diggles Transposition müsste man als unvereingenommener Hörer eigentlich auch die auf *τῶνδ'* οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος folgenden Worte οὐδ' ἔχω τι φῶ / χέουσα κτλ. (91-92) mit der vorher genannten Handlung (scil. 96-99) verbinden. Aber gerade sie sollte ohne gebührende Ehrung des Toten und unter Stillschweigen vollführt (96: ή σῆγ' ἀτίμως ...), der Trank auch nicht auf dem Grabhügel ausgegossen werden. Diggle hat erkannt, dass sich Widersinn dann nur vermeiden lässt, wenn man die Wendung οὐδ' ἔχω τι φῶ κτλ. (91-92) auf V. 87 bezieht. Jedoch die Notwendigkeit eines solchen Rückgriffes leuchtet nicht ein, da sie aus der Formulierung des Dichters nicht hervorgeht.

2) Der Satz *τῶνδ'* οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος kann auch für die zweite Möglichkeit (scil. 93-96) nicht gelten, mag eine solche Vermutung zunächst auch naheliegen. Im ganzen ersten Teil des Epeisodions wird ja vorausgesetzt, dass Chor und Hauptpersonen frei und von ihren Feinden unbeobachtet miteinander sprechen können. Schon die Aussagen des Parodos machen diese Besonderheit der Situation deutlich. Erst später (scil. 264-268, nach der Anagnorisis) deutet der Chorführer besorgt an, es könne jemand die Versammelten belauschen und ihre Pläne verraten. Aber Orest leugnet unter Berufung auf den Schutz Apollons das Bestehen einer derartigen Gefahr (269 ff.).

3) Elektra kann also mit den Worten *τῶνδ'* οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος nicht Angst vor Beobachtern meinen, ebensowenig aber Mangel an 'Frechheit'. Θάρσος ist Kühnheit, meist im Sinne von Zuversicht (Italie: 'fiducia'). Man vergleiche z.B. Aisch. Ag. 982 (θάρσος εύπειθές), Soph. El. 412 (ἔχεις τι θάρσος τοῦτος τοῦ τάρβους πέρι;) oder Eur. Alk. 604 f. (πρὸς δ' ἔμαι ψυχᾶι θάρσος ἔσται / θεοσεβῆ φῶτα κεδνὰ πράξειν). Am nächsten kommen unserer Wendung die Verse Eur. Hek. 370 f. (Polyxena spricht): οὐτ' ἔλπιδος γάρ οὗτε του δόξης ὅρῶ / θάρσος παρ' ἡμῖν ὡς ποτ' εὖ πρᾶξαί με χρή, d.h. 'eine Zuversicht des Inhaltes, dass es mir je noch gut gehen werde, sehe ich weder hinsichtlich einer

Hoffnung noch hinsichtlich einer Meinung⁶⁾. - Wenn man aber das Nomen θάρσος in der hier entwickelten Bedeutung versteht, haben Elektras Worte nur Sinn als unmittelbare Ergänzung der Verse 89-90. Elektra könnte die Behauptung, dass sie die Spende 'von einer lieben Frau einem lieben Mann bringe' nicht zuversichtlich aussprechen. Sie weiss, dass das unaufrichtige Gebet wirkungslos wäre, ja den toten Vater sogar beleidigen würde⁷⁾. Die Erklärung οὐδέ ξχω τέ φῶ / χέουσα κτλ. (91 f.) ist also nicht, wie Blass und Diggle (a. O. [oben Anm. 2] 267 f.) meinten, Wiederholung von V. 87 (wo Elektra eine allgemeine, mehrere Möglichkeiten umfassende Frage stellt), sondern sie ist die ehrliche Beteuerung, dem Wunsche der Mutter nicht nachkommen zu können.

Die Uebersetzung 'dazu (d.h. zu einer solchen Lüge) fehlt mir der Mut' ist demnach nicht falsch, freilich insofern irreführend, als sie an eine von aussen nahende Gefahr denken lassen könnte (offenbar haben Blass und Diggle es so verstanden). Sobald man sich freilich verdeutlicht hat, worum es der Sprecherin in dieser Situation geht, dürfte kein Irrtum entstehen⁸⁾.

4) Eine einfache Ueberlegung kommt hinzu: Elektra hat einen Auftrag, und die Choreutinnen wissen, wozu die Prinzessin und sie selbst ausgesandt worden sind (vgl. 22 f.; 85; 538 f.). Wenn die Sprecherin nun, just am Beginn der vorgeschrriebenen rituellen Handlung, neben die Anordnung der Mutter andere Möglichkeiten stellen will, muss sie zunächst angeben, weshalb sie Bedenken trägt, den Befehl der Königin zu verwirklichen. Eine derartige Erklärung aber liegt in den Versen 91-92 vor. Deren Inhalt geht also nur den Auftrag an, und nur an der von der Ueberlieferung vorgezeichneten Stelle können diese Worte ihre Funktion erfüllen.

Man hätte bei Behandlung dieses Problems beachten sollen, was Wilamowitz, der Lehrer des Jubilars, vor langer Zeit in seiner treffenden Interpretation gesagt hat⁹⁾: "Die erste Möglichkeit ist παρὰ φίλης γυναικὸς φίλωι ἀνδρὶ. dazu kann sie (scil. Elektra) sich nicht entschliessen, denn die Spende kommt von ihrer Mutter und wird ihrem Vater dargebracht. nur durch diese heiligen Namen wagt das schüchterne Mädchen das

grässliche anzudeuten. die recitation hat den gegensatz von μητρός und πατρί (vielmehr: πατρός) 90:92 hervorzuheben, dann leuchtet die schönheit der keuschen poesie hervor, und die schatten gefühlloser umstellerei fallen von selbst."

II. SOPHOKLES OIDIPUS TYRANNOS 216 - 275

R. D. Dawe hat in der Königsrede des Oidipus (O.T. 216-275) die Versreihen 244-251 und 269-272 ihre Plätze tauschen lassen. Damit greift er auf einen Vorschlag O. Ribbecks zurück, der die Verse 246-251 hinter V. 272 zu rücken empfahl¹⁰⁾. Dawes eigene Manipulation verändert den überlieferten Text stärker als Ribbeck wollte. Trotzdem ist sie, ungeachtet mehrerer Argumente, die gegen Ribbeck vorgetragen worden sind, im Haupttext der neuen Teubnerausgabe (Sophoclis Tragoediae I, ed. R. D. Dawe, Leipzig 1975) durchgeführt worden. Das veranlasst uns, ihren Wert erneut zu prüfen.

Man wird Dawe zugeben, dass die Verse 244-251 Abschlusscharakter aufweisen. Oidipus sagt, dass er so, wie zuvor ausgeführt, der Gottheit und dem Erschlagenen helfen wolle; er verflucht den Täter und verwünscht ihn selbst dann, wenn er in seinem eigenen Hause leben sollte (verflucht also, wie der Zuschauer weiss, sich selbst):

(έγώ μὲν οὖν τοιόσδε τῷ τε δαίμονι
 245 τῷ τ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ τὸν θανόντι σύμμαχος πέλω·)
 κατεύχομαι δὲ τὸν δεδρακότ', εἴτε τις
 εἰς ὅν λέληθεν εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα,
 κακὸν κακῶς νιν ἄμορον ἐκτρῖψαι βίον.
 250 έπεύχομαι δ', οἴκοισιν εἰς ξυνέστιος
 ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ συνειδότος,
 παθεῖν ἄπερ τοῖσδ' ἀρτίως ἡρασάμην.

Umgekehrt könnten die Verse 269-272 die Reihe 233-243 nicht übel fortsetzen; denn hier, in der letztgenannten Partie, erklärt der Sprecher den Mörder für vogelfrei und schreibt den Bürgern vor, ihn aus ihrer Gemeinschaft auszuschliessen.

Hiesse es nun (wie bei Dawe) weiter (269-272): 'Wer diesen Massnahmen zuwiderhandelt, soll kläglich zugrundegehen', dann wäre kein schlechter Uebergang geschaffen¹¹⁾. Ja, die Zeilen 252-254 (ὑμῖν δὲ ταῦτα πάντ' ἐπισκήπτω τελεῖν, / ὑπέρ τ' ἐμ-αυτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τε τῆσδε τε / γῆς κτλ.) könnten, rein formal betrachtet, an 272 ebenso gut anschliessen wie an den in der Ueberlieferung unmittelbar vorhergehenden Vers 251.

Indessen sind das nur Möglichkeiten. Einen radikalen Eingriff in den überlieferten Text würden sie erst dann rechtfertigen, wenn man gezwungen wäre, sie als Wahrscheinlichkeiten anzusehen. Hinzu kommt, dass es sehr schwierig sein dürfte, die Entstehung einer so schweren Korruptel, wie sie Dawe voraussetzt, glaubhaft zu erklären¹²⁾. Bei näherer Be- trachtung des Textes stellen sich auch sehr bald Bedenken ein; denn die überlieferte Versabfolge weist Vorzüge auf, die ver- mutlich grösser sind als die Vorteile, die wir bei Würdigung der Dawe'schen Konjektur zu erblicken glaubten.

1) Die Versgruppen 269-272 und 273-275 sind augenscheinlich aufeinander bezogen: Die Bürgergemeinde wird in zwei Gruppen geteilt, in eine, die den Befehl des Regenten missachtet (269: καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν εὔχομαι), und in eine andere, die ihn befolgt (273 f.: ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοισι Καδμείοις, ὅσοις / τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκονθ' ...). Die Ungehorsamen sollen verflucht, die Mithelfer gesegnet sein. Diese Entsprechung ist, wie wir sehen werden, für den Fortgang des Dramas bedeutsam. Man wird sie ohne Not nicht auseinanderreissen.

Gegenüber Ribbeck ist das oft hervorgehoben worden¹³⁾. Jebb hat weiter darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass der Plural τοῖσθ (251) gebraucht ist, weil der Sprecher schwankt, ob er mit einem oder mit mehreren Räubern rechnen soll (vgl. 246 f.: ... εἴτε τις / εἴς ὁν λέληθεν εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα). Mit diesem Hinweis auf V. 247 ist Ribbecks Frage: "Wer sind diese οἵδε (scil. in V. 251)?" beantwortet¹⁴⁾.

2) Die Versgruppe 246-251 entspricht, wie Greifenhagen fest- gestellt hat¹⁵⁾, der ἀντωμοσία des attischen Strafprozesses, also dem Parteienstreit, in dem Kläger und Beklagter die Wahr- heit ihrer Behauptungen eidlich bekräftigten. In unserem Zu- sammenhang setzt die Verfluchung des Täters (246-248) die Verse

235 ff. (die sog. πρόρρησις, die 'Kündung') unmittelbar fort. Aber auch die Selbstverfluchung der Zeilen 249-251 (έπεύχομαι δ', οἶκοισιν εἰ ξυνέστιος / ἐν τοῖς ἔμοῖς γένοιτ' ἔμοῦ συνειδότος, / παθεῖν ἅπερ τοῖσδ' ἀρτίως ἡρασάμην) entspricht offenbar dem Inhalt der ἀντωμοσία¹⁶).

Man könnte freilich einwenden, dass gerade diese Worte wegen ihrer Wichtigkeit für das Schicksal des Sprechers (Oidipus wird ja Opfer seines eigenen Fluches) an das Ende der genannten Reihe gehören. Dawe (a. O. [oben Anm. 10] 224) hat sogar noch ein weiteres Argument vorgetragen: Er rechnet die Verse 236-243 zum Untersuchungsverfahren ("the inquisitorial processes"), die Verfluchung des Täters und die Selbstverfluchung des Sprechers aber zum eigentlichen Prozess ("the criminal aspects"). Beide Schritte hätten, so meint er, verschiedene Voraussetzungen und müssten deshalb voneinander getrennt werden. Indessen sollen die nachfolgenden Ueberlegungen zeigen, dass diese oder ähnliche Begründungen der Versumstellungen der Absicht des Dichters nicht gerecht werden.

Die Eröffnungsrede des Königs zerfällt in zwei Hauptteile (224-251 und 252-275), denen eine kurze Einleitung (216-223) vorausgeschickt ist. In ihr sagt Oidipus u.a. Folgendes (219-223): 'Ich will zu euch sprechen, da ich als Landesfremder (scil. zur Zeit der Tat) mit den Berichten über den Vorgang nicht vertraut war; denn anderenfalls hätte ich, auch auf mich allein gestellt, nicht weit zu fahnden brauchen, ohne alsbald im Besitz eines Erkennungszeichens (eines Indiz) zu sein. Jetzt aber verkünde ich, da ich (scil. nach der Tat) thebanischer Bürger geworden bin, Folgendes'¹⁷. Wie Greifenhagen a. O. (oben Anm. 15) 152 f. mit Recht hervorhebt, beruft sich Oidipus auf seine Eigenschaft als Bürger (sie ist durch das Amt des Königs gegeben), weil er anderenfalls in einer Mordsache nicht prozessfähig wäre. - Nun folgt der Inhalt der Bekanntmachung: Zunächst (224-232) befiehlt der König, dass alle die, die den Mörder kennen oder bisher begünstigt haben, Anzeige erstatten. Dieses allgemein gehaltene Gebot wird in folgenden Vorschriften präzisiert: 1) Wenn der Mörder sich selbst anzeigt, wird er lediglich verbannt (227-229)¹⁸. - 2) Derjenige, der weiss, dass der Täter ein Ausländer ist,

soll das nicht verschweigen. Ich werde ihm danken und ihn belohnen (230-232).

Kamerbeek (a. O. [oben Anm.13] 72) hat mit Recht betont, dass diese Anordnung der Möglichkeiten sinnvoll ist. Der einfachste Fall wäre der, dass der in Theben weilende Mörder von einem Bürger angezeigt würde. Kennt ihn aber niemand, dann bleibt nur die Hoffnung, er werde sich, angelockt durch die Milde der angedrohten Strafe, selbst zu seiner Tat bekennen. Ist er gar ein Ausländer, den solche Angebote nicht interessieren, dann verlangt der Regent entsprechende Hinweise, damit er die Strafverfolgung aufnehmen kann. Mit Recht sagt Kamerbeek zu dieser letzten Annahme: "It goes without saying that the poet makes Oedipus stress this particular case for reasons of dramatic irony: the case, in fact, is his, even in a double sense. Both the subject and the object of 230 make one think of Oedipus"¹⁹⁾. Man darf auch daran erinnern, dass der König sich selbst kurz zuvor (219 f.) als Fremden (Ξένος ... τοῦ πραχθέντος) bezeichnet hat.

Nach den Ankündigungen der Verse 224-232 heisst es nun weiter (233 ff.): 'Wenn jedoch keine Anzeige (μήνυσις) erfolgt, sollen alle wissen, dass sie den Mörder zu unrecht wie einen der Ihren behandeln; denn er ist ein öffentlicher Makel (vgl. 241 f.)'. Oidipus verruft den Täter (233-243), indem er ihn als vogelfrei erklärt. Das ist die 'Kündung' (πρόφροντις im attischen Strafprozess), "der Ausschluss des Beklagten von allen staatsbürgerlichen Rechten und das Verbot der Teilnahme am öffentlichen Religionskult" (Greifenhagen a. O. [oben Anm.15] 156). Oidipus darf mit Recht behaupten, dass seine Mithilfe bei Durchführung des göttlichen Befehles in diesen Anordnungen besteht (244 f.).

Der Inhalt der folgenden Verse (246-251) ist uns bereits bekannt: Sie entsprechen dem Parteieneid (der ἀντωμοσία) des Prozessrechtes. Wie bereits angedeutet, ist schon aus diesem formalen Grund ihre Stellung unmittelbar hinter der πρόφροντις gerechtfertigt. Dawe (a. O. [oben Anm.10] 224) behauptet freilich, der Sprecher müsse zunächst sein Klagerecht durch Nachweis der Verwandtschaft mit dem Ermordeten erbringen, bevor er die Täter verfluchen dürfte: "Then within the purely cri-

rnal section of Oedipus' speech, we see that he ought first to establish his right to prosecute, and then to discharge his rôle as prosecutor by cursing the guilty party, the murderer of Laius." Offensichtlich hat diese Erwartung Dawe veranlasst, die Verse 244-251 von ihrem überlieferten Platz zu entfernen. Aber es ist eine unbillige Erwartung. Müsste man doch das gleiche Ansinnen an Oidipus in Ansehung der Verse 236-243 stellen; denn auch die 'Kündung' (πρόφησις) war in Athen nur dem klageberechtigten Verwandten gestattet²⁰⁾. Für unseren Fall aber folgt: Die Verfluchung des Täters kann Oidipus (ähnlich wie die 'Kündung') schon vor dem Nachweis der Verwandtschaft mit Laios aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit aussprechen, wenn er wirklich Gründe hat, jenen Nachweis erst im zweiten Teil der Rede zu erbringen. Immerhin spricht er als Regent und im Auftrag der Gottheit. Zu den Gründen der überlieferten Disposition gehört jedenfalls auch die *dramatische* Funktion der Verfluchung, besonders die der *Selbstverfluchung*²¹⁾: Beide würden hinter den Drohungen an die Mitbürger (scil. 269-272) stehend, gewissermassen nur als zusätzliches Argument gebraucht, an Wirksamkeit verlieren (vgl. Kamerbeek a. O. 75 zu Ribbecks Umstellung). Positiv hat das schon Jebb (a. O. [oben Anm.13] 224) formuliert: Er meint, diese Partie müsse im ersten Teil der Rede stehen, "in the fore-front of the speech"²²⁾. Ein weiteres Argument für die überlieferte Abfolge der Verse wird kenntlich werden, wenn wir nun den zweiten Teil der Rede betrachten.

Schon im ersten Hauptabschnitt der Proklamation sind alle Merkmale sichtbar, die Greifenhagen (a. O. [oben Anm.15] 149) als wesentlich für das Ganze hervorgehoben hat: Das thebanische Volk ist zur Mitfahndung aufgerufen, der König hat die Aussagepflicht konstituiert, die Täter verflucht und die Durchführung des delphischen Gebotes, d.h. die Befreiung der Stadt von der Befleckung, als eigene Aufgabe übernommen. Noch aber fehlt ein wichtiges Verbindungsglied: Noch brauchen die Hörer der Rede (d.h. die Choren als Vertreter des Volkes) die Anordnungen des Herrschers nicht für *rechtlich* verbindlich zu halten, wenn ihnen nicht bewiesen wird, dass Oidipus zur Klageerhebung legitimiert ist. Als König ist er das nicht, sondern

nur als Verwandter des Getöteten (auch als Angeheirateter), d.h. als Mitgeschädigter. Diese besondere Beziehung des jetzigen Regenten zu seinem Vorgänger wird deshalb in den Versen 252-268, also im ersten Abschnitt des zweiten Hauptteiles, eindringlich dargelegt. Der athenische Zuschauer verstand hierbei zweierlei:

1) Oidipus hat die bisher vorgetragenen Anordnungen nicht nur als Regent, sondern auch als Kläger erlassen. Deshalb sind die Thebaner nun auch rechtlich zur Mitfahndung verpflichtet;

2) Der hintergründige Sinn dieser Verse wird kenntlich, und ihre Bedeutung für den weiteren Gang der dramatischen Handlung lässt sich erahnen. Dabei besteht die tragische Ironie zunächst weniger darin, dass König und Mörder identisch, sondern eher darin, dass Geschädigter und Täter eine Person sind.

Erst jetzt ist der Punkt erreicht, an dem der Sprecher seine Verwünschungen auch auf die Personen ausdehnen kann, die ihre Mithilfe bei der Aufdeckung des Mordes verweigern. Ein derartiger Ungehorsam wäre nicht eine beliebige Missachtung der königlichen Autorität, sondern gleichzeitig ein Frevel gegen das Leben der Gemeinschaft, zu deren Entsühnung jeder einzelne verpflichtet ist. Nach dieser Verfluchung (scil. nach den Versen 269-272) müssen die Hehler mit schlimmstem persönlichen Unheil rechnen, weil sie nun im Bunde mit der Unreinheit stehen. Der Chor beeilt sich denn auch, sofort nach den Schlussworten des Königs (269-275) zu versichern (vgl. 276: ὥσπερ μ' ἀπαῖον ἔλαβες, ὥδ', ἀναξ, ἐρῶ), dass er die Tat nicht vollbracht habe und vom Täter nichts wisse. Diese enge Verbindung zwischen dem zweiten Fluch und der Reaktion des Chors ergibt sich nur aus der überlieferten Textgestalt. Sie käme nicht zustande, wenn die Passage 269-272 an der von Dawe bezeichneten Stelle (scil. nach 243) stünde. Ja, diese Verbindung würde geradezu ausgeschlossen, weil der König am Ende des ersten Teiles seiner Rede zur Verfluchung der Ungehorsamen seiner Untertanen nicht berechtigt wäre.

Die Verpflichtung aber, die dem Chor am Ende der feierlichen Rede auferlegt worden ist, bestimmt seine weitere Rolle im ganzen Drama. Sein Auftrag, rein und gottesfürchtig zu bleiben und die Wahrheit zu ehren, gerät zunehmend in Widerstreit mit

seiner Verehrung für den König. Noch dann, als sich die bisher verdeckten Tatbestände schon abzuzeichnen beginnen, sträuben sich die Choren, das Grässliche zu denken; sie bitten Zeus um eine Lösung, die, ohne den König zu Fall zu bringen, der Wahrheit gerecht wird und ihnen selbst ermöglicht, rein zu bleiben²³⁾.

Was unsere textkritische Frage betrifft, so dürfen wir nun mit einiger Zuversicht behaupten: Verfluchung des Täters und Selbstverfluchung des Sprechers haben ihren natürlichen Platz am Ende des ersten Teiles der Eröffnungsrede. Dagegen kann die Verwünschung der Hehler hier (wo Dawe sie eingefügt hat) nicht stehen, da erst die Verse 252-268 die notwendige Voraussetzung für sie enthalten, ihnen also vorangehen müssen. Offensichtlich bietet der überlieferte Text die denkbar beste Gedankenführung.

III. SOPHOKLES ELEKTRA 1205 - 1211

1205 ΟΡ. μέθεις τόδ' ἄγγος νυν, ὅπως τὸ πᾶν μάθητε.
 ΗΛ. μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν τοῦτο μ' ἐργάσητε, Εἴνε.
 ΟΡ. πιθοῦ λέγοντες κούχ ἀμαρτήσητε ποτέ.
 ΗΛ. μὴ πρὸς γενείου μὴ ἔξελη τὰ φίλτατα.
 ΟΡ. οὗ φημ' ἐάσειν. ΗΛ. ὅ τάλαιν' ἐγώ σέθευ,
 1210 'Ορέστα, τῆς σῆς εἰ στερήσομαι ταφῆς.
 ΟΡ. εὔφορη μάρτυρα. πρὸς δίκης γάρ οὐ στένεις.

Diese Versreihe aus der bekannten Wiedererkennungsszene bietet Dawe in der neuen Sophoklesausgabe (I, Leipzig 1975) folgendermassen dar:

Auf Dawes Begründung dieser textkritischen Massnahme²⁴⁾ werden wir unten näher eingehen. Zunächst fällt auf, dass Dawe mit einer Uebersetzung der Worte οὐ φημ' ἔάσειν (nämlich: "ich lehne es ab, die Urne loszulassen") rechnet, die sophokleischem Sprachgebrauch nicht durchaus entspricht. 'Εᾶν hat zwei Hauptbedeutungen ('erlauben' und 'lassen' im Sinne von 'fahren, unbehelligt lassen'), die sich freilich in manchen Belegen sehr nahe kommen. Wir beschränken uns auf wenige Beispiele: 1) 'erlauben', negiert 'verbieten': ... ὥστε σόν ποτ' ή κάμδν γένος / βλαστεῖν ἔᾶσαι (Elektra 965 f.) oder εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔαις θάπτειν παρών (Ajax 1131). - 2) 'lassen': οὐκουν μ' ἔάσεις κάκτος εἴ; (O.T. 676) oder (ebenfalls mit persönlichem Objekt) τούτους δ' ἔα (Trach. 344: 'lass gehen', vgl. Philokt. 890) u.a. Bisweilen ist das Objekt unterdrückt; der Hörer muss es aus dem Zusammenhang ergänzen: ὅταν μάθης μου, νουθέτει, τανῦν δ' ἔα (scil. ἐμέ, O.K. 593), ähnlich Ajax 754 und 1048, wo die Ergänzungen noch einfacher sind. Dawe könnte bei seiner Deutung ("ich weigere mich die Urne herzugeben") an solche Stellen gedacht haben. Es fällt allerdings auf, dass es sich meist um persönliche Objekte handelt. Nur zweimal geht es in dieser Bedeutung des Verbs um Sachen, aber beide Fälle lassen sich mit Elektra 1109 nicht recht vergleichen: αὐτοῖς ήν ἔρως (Tyrwhitt : ἔρις codd.) Κρέοντι τε / θρόνους ἔᾶσθαι (pass., O.K. 367 f.) und ἔγώ τὰ μὲν παθήματ' ἄπαθον ... / παρεῖσ' ἔᾶσω (O.K. 361-363).

Dieser Befund erschwert es auch, Dawes Auffassung durch Hinweis auf Philokt. 817 zu rechtfertigen, obwohl dort die gleiche Wendung (οὐ φημ' ἔάσειν) wiederkehrt; denn das fehlende Objekt ist das Personalpronomen σέ. Die Stelle lautet:

816 ΦΙ. μέθες μέθες με. NE. ποῖ μεθῶ; ΦΙ. μέθες ποτέ.
NE. οὐ φημ' ἔάσειν ...,

und im nächsten Vers καὶ δὴ μεθίημ'. Neoptolemos sagt also: "Ich lehne es ab, dich zu lassen" (~ loslassen, verlassen). Mit Bedacht greift er über den augenblicklichen Wunsch des Kranken hinaus und kehrt erst mit dem nächsten Verb (μεθίημ') zu ihm zurück.

Wollte man sich aber über unsere Bedenken hinwegsetzen und Elektra (unter Berufung auf Philokt. 817) ausrufen lassen: "Ich weigere mich, die Urne loszulassen", dann müsste man die ihr zugewiesenen Worte (*οὐ φημί ἔδοσειν*, 1209) unmittelbar hinter Vers 1205 (*μέθες τόδι ἄγγος*) stellen. An der jetzt von Dawe gewählten Stelle (nach 1207) bleiben sie beziehungslos; denn die vorangehenden Sätze enthalten kein Objekt, das sich als Ergänzung anbietet. Man müsste sich also damit begnügen, unter Beibehaltung der überlieferten Versabfolge eine Lücke vor 1209 anzusetzen (so Dawes erster Gedanke, siehe oben Anm. 24).

Aber auch diese Ueberlegung ist müssig, ja falsch; denn sie geht von einer unerlaubten Voraussetzung aus. Wir müssen, um das zu verstehen, auf den Anfang des Epeisodions zurückblicken: Kaum sind die Fremden mit Orests Asche aufgetreten, da bittet Elektra, vom Schmerz überwältigt, darum, die Urne in ihre Hände nehmen zu dürfen (1119 f.: ... δός νυν πρὸς θεῶν ... / ... ἐς χεῖρας λαβεῖν). Dieser Asche, die sie nun bei sich hält, gilt ihre Klage, "die grösste aller Klagen"²⁵⁾. Aber die Klagende und, wie sie selbst annimmt, ganz Verlassene, weiss sehr wohl, dass sie kein Recht auf die Urne hat: Die Fremden sind erschienen, um die sterblichen Ueberreste von Agamemnons Sohn dem Landesherrn zu übergeben (vgl. 1106 f.). Dieser Voraussetzung entsprechen Elektras Worte in den soeben ausgeschriebenen Versen. Zur Rückgabe der Aschenkiste aufgefordert (1205), verlegt Elektra sich aufs Bitten, und da sie glaubt, das ganze ihr verbleibende Glück sei an den Besitz dieses letzten Zeichens ihres Bruders gebunden, wählt sie beschwörende, für griechische Vorstellung unwiderstehliche Worte (1206: *πρὸς θεῶν*, 1208: *πρὸς γενεῖον*). Als Schutzflehende (*ἰκέτις*) bittet sie den fremden Mann bei seiner Ehre und bei seinem Glauben, den geliebten Gegenstand ihr (noch) nicht zu entreissen (1208: *μὴ ἔξελητι τὰ φίλτατα*). Wie könnte die Tiefunglückliche auf den Gedanken kommen zu erklären: "Ich weigere mich, die Urne loszulassen!"? Sie müsste einen berechtigten Verweis des Boten erwarten, der gehalten wäre, an seinen offiziellen Auftrag zu erinnern. Ein weiteres kommt hinzu: Wenn man mit Dawe Elektra die Worte *οὐ φημί ἔδοσειν*

sprechen lässt, versteht man nicht mehr, weshalb auf so viel Entschlossenheit der verzweifelte Ausruf folgen könnte (1209 f.)

Ὥ τάλαιν' ἔγώ σέθεν, / Ὁρέστα, τῆς σῆς εἰ στερήσουμα ταφῆς.

Wir sind jetzt gerüstet, auch den zweiten Gedankenschritt Dawes näher zu betrachten. Dawe rechnet ja nicht nur mit Verlust des Verses 1208a, sondern auch mit falscher Versanordnung in unseren Handschriften. Dieser Fehler, so meint er, könne behoben werden, wenn man 1206-1207 vor 1209 stelle. Die neue Anordnung bringe fünf Vorteile mit sich:

1) Das Verbot μὴ ἔξελην (1208) rücke näher an μέθες (1205). Es wirke nun natürlicher als nach der eindringlich-freundlichen Mahnung des Verses 1207.

2) Der Ausdruck τὰ φίλτατα (1208) stehe jetzt näher bei τόδι ἄγγος (1205, "which is τὰ φίλτατα").

3) Aufforderung und Verbot, d.h. πιθοῦ ('gehörche', 1207) und οὐ φημι' ἔάσειν ('ich weigere mich...', 1209) würden aufeinander folgen²⁶⁾.

4) Die Worte μὴ δῆτα ... τοῦτό μ' ἔργάσην (1206), nach Dawes Dafürhalten offenbar nicht eindeutig genug, könnten sich nun auf einen Ausdruck beziehen, der im verlorenen Vers 1208a stand.

5) Der Vers 1207 (die beschwörenden Worte: 'Gehörche mir! Du wirst nicht irregehen') rücken an einen Platz, an dem die sachlichen Argumente erschöpft sind²⁷⁾.

Ob sich diese Gesichtspunkte bewähren, kann nur ein Vergleich mit der überlieferten Versabfolge zeigen. So viel darf aber schon jetzt festgestellt werden: Das Zusammenrücken ähnlicher Begriffe hat nur dann Gewicht, wenn Anklänge und Gegensätze durch entsprechende Gedankenschritte gerechtfertigt werden. Wer sich nur auf rein formale Beziehungen stützt, bedient sich eines textkritischen Mittels, das keine selbständige Beweiskraft besitzt. Prüft man unter diesen Gesichtspunkten den von Dawe neugeschaffenen Zusammenhang, dann zeigt sich, dass nur die oben aufgezählten äusserlichen Berührungen bestehen. Ein Fortschritt des Gedankens ist nicht feststellbar; denn in sechs Versen sagen sich die Beteiligten in ermüdendem Gleichschritt dreimal dasselbe:

- 1) Or. 'Lass die Urne los!' - El. 'Nimm mir nicht mein Liebstes!'
- 2) < Or. 'Gib die Urne her!' > - El. 'Tue mir das nicht an!'
- 3) Or. 'Gehorche mir!' - El. 'Ich weigere mich, sie loszulassen. Ach ich Aermste...!'

Kaum vorstellbar, wie diese versifizierte Eintönigkeit ins Spiel umgesetzt werden soll! Rufen sich beide Befehl und Weigerung zu, wobei Elektra dem Zugriff des Boten geschickt ausweicht, oder ringen Mann und Frau auch körperlich um das Gefäß? Wie geschieht es dann aber, dass Elektra die Urne noch etwa zehn Zeilen bei sich behält? Sie gibt sie ja erst nach dem Vers 1217 frei, durch den sie erfährt, dass sie einem Trug zum Opfer fiel (OP. ἀλλ' οὐκ Ὁρέστου, πλὴν λόγωι γ' ἡσκημένον).

Diese Beobachtungen zwingen uns, den überlieferten Text nach seinem Sinn zu befragen. Orest weiss seit V. 1137, wen er vor sich hat, und der erschütternde Einblick in die seelische Not der Schwester veranlasst ihn, ihr gegenüber die Botenrolle aufzugeben (vgl. seine schmerzlichen Ausrufe 1174 f.²⁸)). Dieser Entschluss, der Schwester vor der Tat zu eröffnen, wer er ist, wird bestärkt durch das, was er im ersten Abschnitt der Stichomythie (1176-1199) hört: dass er zuvor nur einen Teil von Elektras persönlichem Unglück erfahren hat und dass für sie mit dem Tod des Bruders jede Aussicht auf Rettung dahin ist. Orest ist bestürzt (1199), Elektra aber vom Ausdruck seines Mitgefühles so überrascht, dass sie meint, der Fremde müsse ein entfernter Verwandter sein (1202). Bevor Orest allerdings Auskunft über sich gibt, lässt er sich zunächst zusichern, dass die anwesenden Frauen Elektra wohlgesinnt seien, also auf ihrer Seite stehen (1203 f.).

Hier beginnt unsere Versreihe. Orest knüpft seine Aufklärung an die Rückgabe der Urne (1205: μέθες τόδ' ἄγγος νῦν, ὅπως τὸ πᾶν μάθηται). Für den Zuschauer ist das ohne weiteres durchsichtig: Jetzt, da die Wahrheit ausgesprochen werden soll, muss das Sinnbild des Truges und der Trauer verschwinden. Elektra freilich kann das nicht verstehen: Eine Mitteilung über die Herkunft des fremden Mannes sollte sie so teuer bezahlen? Niemals! Deshalb ihre beschwörende Bitte (1206):

"Nicht bei den Göttern, Fremder, tu mir *das* nicht!" (μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν τοῦτό μ' ἐργάσοι, ξένε) ²⁹⁾. Drei Beobachtungen drängen sich hier auf: Die emphatische Verbindung μὴ δῆτα unterstreicht die Leidenschaftlichkeit der Weigerung ³⁰⁾, die Berufung auf die Götter die Heiligkeit des Wunsches. Der Vokativ ξένε schliesslich markiert den Abstand, den Elektra zwischen sich und dem Anderen gewahrt sehen möchte: Auch wenn er Mitleid empfindet und Trost zu bringen verspricht, sollte er ihr die Ueberreste des liebsten Menschen nicht hartherzig abverlangen. Der Vokativ enthüllt Elektras ganzen Irrtum und lässt den Betrachter erahnen, welche innere Entfernung im kommenden Teil des Gesprächs überwunden werden muss. Der Vers könnte nirgends besser passen als an dieser Stelle, und er verlöre jeden Glanz, wenn man ihn (mit Dawe) einer hypothetischen Lücke folgen liesse.

Orest erkennt die Innigkeit der Bitte sofort und versucht, um Elektra ein hartes Wort zu ersparen, weiterem Andringen mit gütigem Zuspruch zuvorzukommen (1207): "Folg' meinem Wort, du wirst es nicht bereuen!" (πιθοῦ λέγοντι κούχ ἀμαρτήσοι ποτέ) ³¹⁾. Aber Elektra ist taub für diese Töne. Sie verstärkt ihre Bitte durch die solenne Geste der Hiketis und macht noch deutlicher, was der Besitz der Asche für sie bedeutet (1208): μὴ πρὸς γενεῖου μὴ 'ξέληι τὰ φίλτατα. Reinhartd übersetzt: "Bei deiner Wange nimm mir nicht mein Liebstes!" (ähnlich Staiger). Aber der originale Wortlaut ist wirkungsvoller: Durch die Hauptzäsur und das Wortende nach dem 4. Longum wird der Vers so gegliedert, dass das negierte, der Beschwörungsformel folgende Verb die Mitte einnimmt und der von ihm abhängige Akkusativ das stark betonte Ende ³²⁾. Es erhellt, dass Dawe mit seiner Formulierung zu kurz greift: "... τόδ' ἄγγος, which is τὰ φίλτατα"; denn an dieser Stelle genügt eine derartige Gleichsetzung nicht mehr. Τὰ φίλτατα - das bedeutet weit mehr als das Gefäss. Es umfasst alles das, was Elektra litt und vergeblich erhoffte, ihr ganzes Recht und ihre ganze Enttäuschung, kurz ihre ganze Welt. Um keinen Preis möchte sie die teure Bürde hingeben! Man sieht: Auf kürzestem Raum, im Ablauf von nur vier Versen ist eine ungeheuere Steigerung

erreicht und eine outrierte Situation geschaffen, die den bisherigen Leidensweg der Hauptperson in sich vereinigt. Sichtbar aber wird diese Kunst nur an der überlieferten Versabfolge.

Was wird Orest tun? Wie kann er die Grösse dieses Irrtums beseitigen, den er durch seine Intrige selbst zustandegebracht hat? Der Zuschauer fragt sich, wie er sich der Schwester eröffnen könne, ohne ihr Misstrauen zu wecken.

Orest sagt (so will es der *Textus receptus*) nur drei Worte: οὐ φημί ἔάσειν. Das heisst: "Ich lehne es ab, das (scil. worum du mich bittest) zu erlauben". 'Eāv ist hier gebraucht, wie an den zahlreichen Belegen, für die oben an erster Stelle zwei Beispiele geboten worden sind, nämlich in der Bedeutung 'gestatten'. Zwar ist es dann meistens mit Infinitiv verbunden, aber doch wenigstens einmal mit einem neutralen pronominalen neben dem persönlichen Objekt (*Antigone* 538): ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔάσει τοῦτο γ' ή δίκη σ', scil. ξυμμετίσχειν καὶ φέρειν τῆς αἵτιας (vgl. ebend. 537). Diese Stelle kommt uns sehr zustatten; denn wir dürfen nun in unserem Falle ein einfaches τοῦτο ergänzen, womit der Inhalt von Elektras Wunsch bezeichnet wäre (τὸ ἄγγος σε φέρειν), oder wir können der Aufforderung μὴ ἔξεληι (1208) die passive Konstruktion τὸ ἄγγος μὴ ἔξαιρεθῆναι entnehmen. Die erstgenannte Möglichkeit verdient wegen ihrer Einfachheit den Vorzug³³⁾.

Orest bring also, von der Not gezwungen, das Ungeheuerliche zustande: Er weist die Bittflehende ab, weil sie nicht aufhört, das Zeichen des Truges für ein Symbol der Liebe zu halten. Für Elektra ist die Enttäuschung entsetztlich; denn ihr ist nun deutlich, dass sie auf die Urne verzichten muss. Mit ihrem Klageruf fällt sie dem Fremden fast ins Wort (1209 f.): "Weh mir um dich, / Orest, sie rauben, ach, mir deine Asche (ὦ τάλαιν' ἔγώ σέθεν, / Ὁρέστα, τῆς σῆς εἰ στερήσομαι ταφῆς). Der Einsatz mitten im Vers (nach der Hauptzäsur) ist völlig gerechtfertigt³⁴⁾, ja, ausserordentlich wirkungsvoll; denn Elektra muss jetzt annehmen, den Tiefpunkt ihrer Not erreicht zu haben.

So ist es auch verständlich, dass sie Orests weitere Hinweise missversteht. Wenn er andeutet, ihr Jammer sei angesichts dieser Urne unangebracht (1211, vgl. 1213), sucht sie den Grund

dieser Äusserung in ihrer eigenen Verworfenheit. Es gelingt dem Dichter, die Lösung dieser Dissonanzen noch einmal hinauszuziehen und die Erwartungen des Zuschauers zu enttäuschen. Erst im Vers 1217, als der Fremde versichert, die Urne enthalte Orests Asche nicht, erhält Elektras Gelegenheit, dem falschen Schein zu entkommen. Die Wiedererkennung vollzieht sich nun in wenigen Schritten. Auf die grossen Feinheiten der Wortfügung dieser Partie können wir hier allerdings nicht mehr eingehen; denn sie liegen jenseits der textkritischen Probleme, denen unsere Aufmerksamkeit gegolten hat.

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ANMERKUNGEN

- 1) zum Verständnis der Chorverse 152-163 vgl. E. R. Dodds, *Class. Quart.* 47, 1953, 13-15.
- 2) James Diggle, *Class. Rev.* 83, 1970, 267-269.
- 3) Beide Argumente hat F. Blass, *Aischylos' Choeporen*, Halle 1906, S. 90 vorweggenommen. Blass schloss sich Weil an, der V. 91 f. hinter V. 95 stellte.
- 4) A.O. (ob. A. 2) 269: "The words οὐδέ τί φῶ etc., now that they are placed at the end of the series, provide a timely echo of the opening question τί φῶ χέουσα τάσσει κηδείους χοάς;".
- 5) Belegstellen in reicher Auswahl bei F. Bömer, *Ovidius Naso*, Die Fasten I (Heidelberg 1958) 317 zu V. 439 (*nec respicit*). Vgl. auch H. J. Rose, *A Commentary to Aeschylus II* (Amsterdam 1958), S.130, und G. Thomson, *The Oresteia II* (Amsterdam 1966), S.131.
- 6) Das Indefinitpronomen gehört zu beiden Nomina, vgl. Kühner-Gerth, *Ausf. Grammatik der griech. Sprache I* (1898) 665 A.6. - Treffend übersetzten Donner-Kannicht: "Denn keine Hoffnung, kein Gedanke weckt in mir / Vertrauen, dass mir je das Glück noch lächeln mag."
- 7) Vgl. Verrall im Kommentar (1893) zu V. 90: "θάρσος because the lie παρὰ φίλης might draw the anger of the spirit upon the speaker"; Groeneboom (1949) zu V. 91-95 (S. 118).
- 8) Man vergleiche folgende repräsentative Uebertragungen, in denen die überlieferte Versabfolge zugrunde gelegt ist! Wilamowitz (1900): "Das mag ich nicht und finde keine Worte: denn es ist das Grab des Vaters, dem die Totenspende rinnen soll." - Staiger (1959): "Ich bin so dreist nicht. Und so weiss ich keinen Spruch, / Wenn ich die Feuchte schütte auf des Vaters Grab." - Lloyd-Jones (1970): "That I dare not do; and I do not know what I can say / as I pour this libation on my father's tomb."
- 9) U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aischylos, Orestie: Das Opfer am Grabe*, Berlin 1896, 162.

10) O. Ribbeck, *Rhein.Mus.* 13, 1858, 129-31. Eine vollständige Bibliographie für dieses Problem bietet Dawe in: *Studies on the Text of Sophocles I*, Leiden 1973, 221,1. Dort zitiert er, offenbar einem Hinweis Ribbecks folgend, eine Bemerkung aus Dobrees *Adversaria* (II 1,32), aus der hervorgeht, dass bereits ein Zeitgenosse Porsons eine ähnliche Umstellung, wenn auch ohne nähere oder gar zureichende Begründung, erwogen hat. In Dobrees *Adversaria* (ed.W. Wagner IV, Berlin 1874, 29) folgen dem Zitat die Worte "Anon. Cant. apud Dalzel". Ob dieser Unbekannte mit Dobree befreundet war, wie Dawe im kritischen Apparat seiner Ausgabe behauptet, kann ich nicht feststellen.

11) V.269-272 lauten: *καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν εὔχομαι θεοὺς μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆς ἀνιέναι τινὰ μήτ' οὖν γυναικῶν παῖδας, ἀλλὰ τῷ πότμῳ τῷ νῦν φθερεῖσθαι κάτι τοῦδ' ἔχθιοι.*

12) Die Uebertragung von Fehlerquellen der Minuskelzeit auf die Praxis des Altertums und der Spätantike liefert keine Begründung; denn 1) hat man in der Antike unentwegt kollationiert (vgl. Strab. 13,1,54 p.609 C, und 17,1,5 p.790 C, dazu Verf., *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Berlin 1979, 548 f.), vor allem die Texte der Klassiker; 2) war die Versabfolge der kommentierten Texte durch die Reihenfolge der Scholienlemmata geschützt. Selbst späte Versversetzungen (etwa im Archetypus der Hss. L Α) hätten aus dem zweiten Grunde sofort entdeckt und rückgängig gemacht werden müssen. Leider gehen viele Textkritiker einer Auseinandersetzung mit diesen Argumenten aus dem Wege. Ribbeck hat (a.O. [ob. A.10] 131 f.) das Problem kurz berührt, aber nicht beachtet, dass Dichtertext und Scholien auch auf verschiedenen Wegen aus dem Altertum ins Mittelalter gelangt sein können.

13) Vgl. J. Classen, *Rhein.Mus.* 16, 1861, 500, bes. R.C. Jebb (kommentierte Ausgabe Cambridge 1893) 233 f., ferner J.C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles IV*, Leiden 1967, 74.

14) A.O. (ob. A.10) 130. Dawe a.O. (ob. A.10) 222 meint freilich, erst die Fernbeziehung des umgestellten Verses 251 auf die ebenfalls umgestellte Partie 269-272 liefere eine Erklärung. Jedoch bei der ungewöhnlichen Entfernung beider Aussagen empfiehlt sich diese Annahme nicht.

15) G. Greifenhagen, *Der Prozess des Oedipus*, *Hermes* 94, 1966, 156 f.

16) Vgl. Greifenhagen a.O. (vor. Anm.) 157 mit Lit. Siehe auch J.H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, Leipzig 1905-1912, 830 ff.

17) V.219-223 lauten: *ἄγω ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἔξερῶ,
ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος. οὐ γάρ δν μακρὰν
ἴχνευον αὐτός, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον.
νῦν δ', οὐτερος γάρ ἀστός εἰς ἀστοὺς τελῶ,
δύμην προφωνῶ πᾶσι Καδμείοις τάδε.*

Es ist Dawes Verdienst, den Sinn des schwierigen Satzes in sauberer Interpretation ermittelt zu haben (a.O. [ob. A.10] 217-219). - Zur Bedeutung von *σύμβολον* vgl. Kamerbeek a.O. (ob. A.13) 70 ("token serving as proof of the murderer's identity").

18) Ueber die Schwierigkeiten dieser Verse und über die Lösungsmöglichkeiten unterrichtet Kamerbeek a.O. 71. Es ist vom Mörder die Rede, nicht von einem Hehler (so z.B. B.R. Rees, *Class. Rev.* 72, 1958, 201-204); das geht auch aus der Tatsache hervor, dass Oidipus nach Aufdeckung der Tat, ganz in Uebereinstimmung mit diesem Abschnitt seiner Proklamation, auf seine Verbannung drängt (vgl. 1410-15; 1436 f.; 1451-54; 1518 und Greifenhagen a.O. [ob. A. 15] 163 f.).

19) Allerdings muss die von Kamerbeek kurz vorher angedeutete Möglichkeit, es könne sich um einen ausserhalb Thebens weilenden Fremden handeln, ferngehalten werden: Das Orakel hat ausdrücklich erklärt, der Mörder befindet sich in der Stadt (vgl. 97 f. u. 110; Classen a.O. [ob. A.13] 493 ff.).

- Uebrigens hat Ribbeck die Beziehung der Verse 230-232 auf den Fall des Oidipus nicht gesehen oder nicht sehen wollen (vgl. Rh. Mus. 16, 1861, 509, 3).

20) Es sei daran erinnert, dass beide Vorgänge (ebenso wie die Ladung der Zeugen und ihre Verpflichtung zur Aussage) nicht zum eigentlichen Prozess gehören, sondern zur Anakrisis (in Mordsachen: προδικασία). Hier erfolgte auch der Nachweis der Verwandtschaft. Weshalb das Drama die Hauptverhandlung nicht berücksichtigen kann, hat Greifenhagen a.O. 158 f. gezeigt.

21) Diese wird an drei zentralen Stellen der Handlung berücksichtigt, scil. 350 ff., 744 f. und 817 ff.

22) Vgl. auch Classen a.O. (ob. A.13) 500.

23) Vgl. 863-910 und U. Hölschers Interpretation "Wie soll ich noch tanzen?", in: Sprachen der Lyrik, Festschrift Hugo Friedrich, Frankfurt 1975, 376-393.

24) R.D. Dawe, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philol. Society 19, 1973, 45 f. Dort (45) heisst es: "If the text before us had been preserved in a MS devoid of ascriptions to speakers, no one would have been so perverse as to do what all MSS and editors do in fact do, namely attribute the words οὐ φημι' ἔδοειν to Orestes. The only object that can reasonably be supplied with ἔδοειν is 'the urn', and 'I say that I will not let it go' is, in the context, the obvious and natural translation, and the words must therefore be spoken by Electra. Once this is agreed, it becomes evident that a line spoken by Orestes must have dropped out...".

25) K. Reinhardt, Sophokles³, Frankfurt 1947, 166.

26) Im V.1207 bevorzugt Dawe (mit L und der Mehrzahl der HSS.) πείθου (ähnlich Kamerbeek z.St.); doch vgl. Jebb z.St. und zu 1015. Im V. Trach. 470 (πείθου codd.), auf den sich Kamerbeek beruft, hat Dindorf πιθοῦ vorgeschlagen.

27) A.O. (ob. A.24) 36: "These general words of re-assurance by brother to sister are most effective in the place where we might indeed expect to hear them in a real-life argument, namely when the specific appeals and requests have been exhausted."

28) Zur dramatischen Funktion dieser Verse vgl. P. Klimpe, Die 'Elektra' des Sophokles und Euripides' 'Iphigenie bei den Taurern', Göppingen 1970, 75 f.

29) Uebersetzt von K. Reinhardt a.O. (ob. A.25) 169.

30) Vgl. J.D. Denniston, Greek Particles², Oxford 1950, 276,2.

31) Uebersetzt von K. Reinhardt a.O. 169.

32) Zur Emphase der doppelten Negation (Anadiplosis) vgl. Kühner-Gerth, Ausf. Grammatik der griech. Sprache II (1904) 205.

33) Verwandte Beispiele für ähnliche Ergänzungen bei E. Bruhn, Anhang zu Sophokles, Berlin 1899, 112 unter III; vgl. auch Kühner-Gerth a.O. (ob. A.32) 565 h. - Es zeigt sich nun, dass Jebb korrekt übersetzt hat: "Thou must not keep it." Auch Reinhardts Wiedergabe ist einwandfrei: "Das duld' ich länger nicht!" (scil. dass du das Gefäss behältst). Vgl. auch J.H. Kells (Sophocles Electra, Cambridge 1973), 196: " 'I declare I will not allow you', sc. to go on believing that this urn contains Orestes' remains, to go on clinging to it...". - Dagegen ist Staigers Text nicht verständlich: "Orest (sanft): 'Lass jetzt!' " Wie sollte nach diesem vorsichtigen, ja unsicheren Zuspruch Elektras Weheruf gerechtfertigt sein?

34) Vgl. Jebb z. St.: "The division of the trimeter (ἀντιλαβή) marks agitation, as again in 1220-1226, 1323, etc.".

CLASSIFICATION OF MSS OF THE SCHOLIA ON AESCHYLUS

OLE L. SMITH

The following notes on a number of MSS containing scholia on Aeschylus are presented here in order to demonstrate a number of facts of some importance for scholars working on the transmission of Aeschylus and for a correct evaluation of the MSS of the poet. First of all I wish to show that some MSS have been overlooked because they have been thought to be of no value on very slender evidence; secondly, that the basic distinction between the MSS of Aeschylus according to the type of commentary breaks down as soon as the material is analysed in more detail than has hitherto been possible; thirdly, that we need much closer analysis of the MSS in order to build up a theory of the transmission of Aeschylus.

As we all know, serious investigation of the MSS of Aeschylus began with Turyn's book on *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (New York 1943). Before this epoch-making study, most scholars were groping in the dark among the numerous and unclassified MSS of the poet. If most of what I have to say here directly or indirectly argues against Turyn's work this is only as it should be, and I am sure that no one will understand my position better than Turyn himself.

Since 1970 I have been working on an edition of the scholia on Aeschylus¹⁾ and have by now collated almost all MSS known to contain scholia plus a few more on which nothing was known and therefore ought to be checked.²⁾ It goes without saying that I have only been interested in the scholia; accordingly, what I have to say here can only pertain to the scholia, if the poetic text is not expressly mentioned. This caveat is necessary all the more since I am not convinced that scholia invariably follow the poetic text in the transmission. As is well

known, the axiom that text and scholia were copied by scribes from the same exemplar was a foundation for Turyn's work on Aeschylus.³⁾

I shall begin with a MS that demonstrates the danger inherent in any attempt to classify the MSS of Aeschylus. The MS Sj (Vat. gr. 58) was classified by Turyn as partly "old," partly "Thoman."⁴⁾ He found that *Prometheus* and *Septem* in Vat. gr. 58 were Thoman (this part only was called Sj), while *Persae* was old and belonged to the σ class (= Ne). However, he expressly stated that the scholia were composite, both old and Byzantine material were mixed up. This ought to have put the classification in doubt since one would have expected that the scholia were divided along the same lines as the poetic text, if the axiom "poetic text and scholia from the same exemplar" was to hold good. The fact that there is a difference between the parts established by Turyn is corroborated by his true observation that the *Persae* has been written by a different scribe. As can be seen from the scholia, however, there can be no doubt that the MS is not made up of different parts; the whole of the Aeschylus part has been written during a single term of work.

In any case, Sj would not seem to be a MS that had anything to offer the prospective editor either in the scholia or in the poetic text. The Thoman scholia are known from a number of good and respectable contemporary MSS, and in the *Persae* the MS does not come very high in the list. However, the editor of the *Prometheus* scholia, C.J. Herington, found that Sj had a majority of A scholia on this play, and that the Thoman scholia seemed in this MS to be mostly additions occurring at the bottom of the page. But he also observed that the regularity of the lay-out and script in Sj were indications that Sj in itself should be considered a copy of a composite MS, in which various additions from several sources had been made.⁵⁾ Because he only concerned himself with the *Prometheus*, Herington did only touch the surface of the problems in Sj. The analysis of this MS is, I think, much more complicated, and I will therefore go into some detail in order to illustrate the problems facing any investigator of the scholia of Aeschylus.

It is true that the scholia on the first play are mainly A scholia; though if Herington had collated Sj throughout in this play, I believe he would have noticed that the last scholium on the *Prometheus* is quite different from the preceding ones. While the other A scholia on the *Prometheus* follow the regular A version, the scholium 1080 H. in Sj f.42^V follows the version in P and Pd, adding *αι κινήσεις* ḥ before *αι έλέσεις* and reading *ξυντετάραται* (line 8) instead of *τετάραται*. And in the next play, the *Septem*, Sj basically exhibits the PPd version of the A scholia.⁶⁾ The same is true for the *Perseae*, as was first seen by Prof. Zabrowski.⁷⁾ Thus we have in Sj instead of a run-of-the-mill "Thoman" MS, a very welcome further witness to the important recension of scholia until now only known from P and Pd. I cannot here deal with the complicated questions that now arise about the relation between PPd and Sj, especially since there are traces of further witnesses in the MSS Na (Vat. Ottob. gr. 346) and R (Vat. gr. 57), on which see below.

On the other hand, there are considerable foreign elements, mostly Thoman, in Sj. As was emphasized by Herington, the MS does not look as having been reworked and added to. But the fact remains that the Thoman elements in the scholia on the *Septem* have all been written at the bottom or the top of the pages, where one would normally find additions entered after the main column of scholia had been written. Moreover, there seems to be differences in ductus between the Thoman scholia and the A (PPd) scholia.⁸⁾ In addition to this, all Thoman scholia have initial capital letters, which the A scholia do not have. This latter feature may of course go back to the exemplar, but the difference in ductus cannot be explained in this way. If it were not for a single case on f.51^V, where the old scholium on *Septem* 224 (Dindorf 326,22-26)⁹⁾ has been written immediately after the Thoman scholium (Dd. 326,28-30) on the same line, I would not doubt that the Thoman scholia on the *Septem* were to be regarded as additions to the original first state old scholia.

There is a somewhat similar case on f.59^r, where one might think that the Thoman scholium on *Septem* 438-439 (Dd. 349,24-27) was written together with the following old scholium on *Sept.* 437 (Dd. 349,10-17); this could be corroborated by the fact that after the lemma of the old scholium *αι τῶς κέρδει* (as usual, the old scholia in Sj lack the initial capital letter) the beginning of the preceding Thoman scholium *έπειδὴ γάρ διὰ τῆς γλώττης* has been written by the scribe who seems not to have noticed his mistake. This blunder would hardly have been possible if the Thoman scholium was not before him when he copied the old scholia.

An explanation of this situation could be that the scribe of Sj copied an exemplar in which old scholia and Thoman scholia were mixed, but where the Thoman scholia were additions and not placed in the regular column. Our scribe would then from time to time write the Thoman scholia into his own column, as it happened on ff.51^v and 59^r, but most often he did not copy the Thoman scholia until later, when he added them at the top and the bottom of his MS. The exemplar from which he copied was defective, the initial capitals were missing in the A scholia, while the scholia added in his exemplar from a Thoman source had initials. This might have been plausible enough if it were not for a small irritating detail.

Until now I have only spoken of one scribe in Sj. There is, besides the hand that wrote the *Persae*, at least one other hand in the scholia on the *Septem*, probably the same hand as that found in the *Persae*. He would seem to be a contemporary of the main scribe, since he takes over from the main scribe e.g. on f.55^v, where he is first found.¹⁰⁾ A few pages later, on f.57^v he is found again, and this time he continues on f.58^r, where he writes all scholia except the Thoman scholium at the top of the page, schol. *Septem* 415 (Dd. 347,23-27). The remarkable fact is, however, that the Thoman scholium clearly was written *before* the second hand wrote the following scholia 412, 414 and 415, all of which are old. It is far-fetched to suppose that the original scribe had returned just to write this Thoman scholium at the top of f.58^r and let his colleague continue with the old scholia. The explanation suggested here is that the Thoman scholia are not additions but the original first state scholia in the MS. The A scholia were then added later and written by the two scribes jointly. The fact that the Thoman scholia were written where they are now found would seem to indicate that the scribes intended to add a full commentary and not the few Thoman scholia.

But if we take a look at the scholia on the *Prometheus* on the first few pages of Sj, where we also have Thoman scholia, two facts strike us. First, the Thoman scholia and the old scholia are here written together in such a way that it is quite impossible to imagine that one set was written before the other. Second, the old scholia on these pages have initials until f.6^v from which point only the Thoman scholia keep their rubrication. But then later on in the play on f.15^v, the situation in the *Prometheus* definitely resembles that in the *Septem*. For on this page we have first a row of Thoman scholia covering the whole of the poetic text on the page, and then a row of old scholia covering the same amount of poetic text.

The same arrangement can be found on f.28^v. So here the Thoman scholia came first. If we now return to the *Septem*, there is one case where the priority of the Thoman commentary is certain. On f.62^v the scribe had to use the space between the last line of poetic text and the scholia at the bottom of the page in order to find room for the old scholia. On this page the bottom was already occupied by a Thoman scholium.

What is the explanation of these facts? I have tried to discuss the more obvious solutions, but as far as I can see there is only one explanation that can account for all the facts, and that is *simultaneous use of two exemplars*. The scribes of Sj used two different sources for the scholia and tried to use them simultaneously. At the beginning of the MS the scribe (here it is the original one) wrote his two sources into one continuous column of scholia. This was difficult and was soon given up. ¹¹⁾ Then the first took what material he could use in his Thoman source and added to this old scholia from a different exemplar. When he came to write the scholia on the *Septem*, he had grown so tired from using two exemplars at a time that he took very little Thoman material (this can also be seen from the last play, where no Thoman scholia are found) and entered this first; then he added the much more copious material from his old source. This is why there are differences in ductus between the two sets in the *Septem* but not in the *Prometheus*, and this also explains why a part of a Thoman scholium has crept into the A scholium on f.59^r. The scribe for a moment forgot which of his two sources he was copying. The fact that the old scholia from f.6^v lack rubrication, while the Thoman do not, also presupposes the use of two different exemplars, one unfinished and one with the usual capital initial letters. Finally, this explanation (simultaneous use of two different exemplars) also accounts for the single Thoman scholium by the original scribe in a section written by his colleague on f.58^r; the original scribe had already written this scholium in Sj before he left his work to be carried on by his colleague.

If the result of this lengthy discussion is correct, we have in Sj an interesting case of contamination taking place so to say before our eyes and in such a way that only a close palaeographical analysis may recover the facts. Herington was deceived by the regularity of the script and thought the contamination to have taken place in an ancestor of Sj. It remains to be seen which of the two exemplars was used in the poetic text.

As mentioned above, we have in Sj a partial further witness to the PPd recension of the scholia. There is another MS which has hitherto been overlooked that has also been influenced, though in a much lesser degree, by this recension. The MS *Ottob.gr. 346* (Na) was regarded by Turyn as a copy of *Matr. gr. 4677* (N).¹²⁾ Turyn said that the scholia are omitted in Na, but this is not quite true. There are a few scholia and many glosses, most of which closely resemble glosses known only from P. Moreover, there is a genuine PPd (and now also Sj) scholium in Na (schol. *Septem* 412) which Na has in the characteristic form given by PPdSj. Since text and scholia in Na are by the same hand, it is possible that Na is not just a copy of N.¹³⁾

A further isolated PPdSj scholium can be found in another MS that has been discarded because it was thought to be of no value. The MS R (*Vat. gr. 57*) was used by Wilamowitz in his *Aeschylus* edition of 1914¹⁴⁾ and has since been forgotten. According to Turyn, the MS is Thoman with glosses and no scholia.¹⁵⁾ The fact is, however, that in its commentary, which mostly consists of glosses, R is certainly not Thoman but old. The Thoman element in R is secondary; a later hand has entered a number of Thoman glosses and one or two scholia, the most important of which is the rare exegetic scholium on *Sept. 7*, which I have so far only found in Lh, Ua and Sb *inc.* δημηγορεῖ νῦν (not in Dindorf). But this second hand R² is quite obviously a foreign element. This can be seen most effectively from the beginning of the *Septem*, where R² adds Thoman glosses above line 2 in between the original R¹ material which is definitely old. R¹ wrote above this line the old glosses ἔχει, ἔξουσιαν and ἀρχῆ. At a later occasion the space between these glosses was used to accommodate the longer Thoman note on this line οἴγουν οἵτις ἀρχὴν καὶ ἔξουσιαν ἔχει κτλ. (Dd. 300, 12-14). At *Septem* 29, R² added the Thoman explanation καὶ ἀγείρεσθαι to the old gloss ἐν νυκτὶ βουλεύεσθαι. In addition to the rare and presumably Thoman scholium on line 7, R only has a few scholia proper. One of these (schol. *Sept. 139*) follows the PPdSj version of the A scholium. In the next scholium in R, on *Sept. 145*, there is partial agreement between R and PPdSj so that in one of the crucial passages R follows PPdSj, in the other it follows the regular A scholia.¹⁶⁾ The last two scholia in R are regular A scholia.

The case of R is another reminder that Turyn's class p of Thoman MSS falls apart. Elsewhere I have tried to show that

too many of the MSS in this group are rather to be regarded as Triclinian¹⁷⁾ and some of the other cannot easily be distinguished from old MSS.

I should perhaps explain here what I mean by Thoman MSS. In contrast to Turyn, who argued for the view that Thomas made a recension of the poetic text and composed a commentary to accompany that recension, I have been persuaded by Dawe and by my own experience, that Thomas only wrote a commentary, explicitly ascribed to him by Triclinius. Thus the inference from scholia to text is no longer valid. The existence of a Thoman commentary in a given MS says absolutely nothing about the character of the poetic text in the particular MS. This is not to deny that we can draw a line between old MSS and the Byzantine vulgate, for we know that Triclinius distinguished between the text current in his time and the old MSS. But this Byzantine vulgate must not be ascribed to any particular individual - and moreover shows little sign of ever having been the work of an individual, but rather of a mindless plurality of different scribes.¹⁸⁾ Thus I mean by Thoman MSS manuscripts carrying the Thoman commentary, which is a quite definite quantity. I should emphasize that the A commentary too, as far as I can see, was not composed to accompany a particular recension. The only commentary written on Aeschylus to elucidate a particular recension is the Triclinian one.

We saw above that a comparatively undistinguished MS Sj revealed treasures surely not to be despised by a conscientious editor of the scholia. It is a lesson that we have to investigate practically every MS of Aeschylus *in toto*, since MSS may change character any time, in order that nothing of value for our total view of the history of the text may escape notice due to a low placing in the stemma. There are two MSS that I should like to mention especially for this reason, Nd (*Laur. plut. 31,38*)¹⁹⁾ and Wa (*Vat. Reg. gr. 92*).²⁰⁾ The scholia in these two MSS clearly form a group with C (*Par. gr. 2785*)²¹⁾ and Xa (*Ambr. N 175 sup.*).²²⁾ These four MSS go together so often that we must regard their scholia as a special recension the characteristics of which I intend to deal with on another occasion. Here I only wish to point out that Nd and Wa resemble each other so often and so closely that one of them must be a copy of the other. The proof of their true relation is found in schol. *Septem* 788, where a blot of ink in Nd (f. 20^V) after the word σφαγῆς (Dd. 388,4) has been read as the

article δ by the scribe of Wa (f.134^V) with the result that the following gibberish now can be read in the latter MS: *καὶ αραγῆς δὲ νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι*. Since text and scholia in Wa is the work of one single scribe throughout I venture to guess that Wa was copied wholesale from Nd. Though this guess will have to be corroborated by a closer look at the poetic text in Wa, my provisional conclusion on the basis of the scholia will have some consequences for our view of the group CWWAPPdNd and Xa.²³⁾

A final note on Nd: The scribe of this MS has been stated by Vogel-Gardthausen to be Akindynos Perdikes, according to a subscription on f.27^r + ς χεὶς βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ περδίκῃ (on f.12^r the same note is found but the last part was either written in a much lighter ink, or has been erased).²⁴⁾ The fact is, however, that this note is not in the hand of either of the two scribes found in Nd, of which the first one wrote the poetic text on ff.1-8^V, the second all scholia and the poetic text ff.9^r until the end. This second scribe I would identify with Georgios Chrysokokkes (I) on the basis of the ductus. I have compared the writing in Nd with the published facsimile specimen of his hand in Turyn's collection of dated Vatican MSS.²⁵⁾

What I have said so far has been very critical of the analysis in Turyn's book on the Aeschylus MSS. It is therefore paradoxical that I now have to criticize other scholars who have been equally sceptical about Turyn's results. But in the case of the MS Δ (Moscow *olim Synod. Bibl. gr.* 508) Turyn was right in stating this MS to be a partial apograph of Ba (*Vat. Ottob. gr. 160*). The Moscow MS was among the MSS collated by Dawe, but he does not mention that Turyn found evidence that it was a copy of Ba in *Prometheus* and *Septem* 1-789,²⁶⁾ and in Page's Oxford text the Moscow MS is reported in the apparatus as if it were an independent witness. Turyn rightly saw that Δ changed its character at *Sept. 790*; what happens here is that there is a change of hands and the new scribe (on f.62^r) uses a new exemplar.²⁷⁾ Until that point Δ is obviously a copy (also in the commentary) of Ba, which MS has not been collated by Dawe or by Page. Unfortunately, it is only possible to compare the Moscow MS with Ba until *Sept. 518*, for at this point the original part of Ba has been repaired and the pages ff.116 ff. are a later replacement for folios now lost.²⁸⁾ Thus we cannot see whether the lack of glosses in Δ after *Sept. 608* corresponds to a similar defect in Ba at this point. However, the glosses in Δ are of the same type until line 608; they are Thoman. This means that we have basically "old" text furnished with Thoman commentary and my point that we

cannot rely on the type of commentary to determine the character of the poetic text once again is shown to be correct.

Another case of a MS insufficiently investigated and therefore misplaced in the classification is *Par. gr.* 2786 (Ab + La). In 1943 Turyn concluded that this MS was a composite one, partly Thoman (La) and partly old (Ab). In the *Prometheus*, *Septem* and *Persae* 1-239 the MS was regarded by him as Thoman, while from *Pers.* 240 on it was old.²⁹⁾ In fact, the scholia on *Prometheus* are A scholia and those on *Septem* are sufficiently abnormal to put the MS in a class apart. The MS is obviously a curious mixture of old and Byzantine comments and needs a thorough investigation. I can only point here to some of the most extraordinary features. Unfortunately, the MS is partly illegible and I am not certain that I have been able to read everything of value.

The scholia on the *Septem* are partly Thoman, partly very rare notes. The glosses are also mixed; some are doubtless old and some are Thoman. The state of the MS makes it almost impossible to distinguish between the original stratum of the MS and subsequent additions, and there may have been more than one hand at work *ab initio*. Still I would say with some confidence that both old and Thoman commentary can be found in the original first state of the book. The Thoman scholia do not call for comment, but there are some extraordinary scholia which deserve mention. On *Septem* 121 we have a scholium quoting Sophocles and Euripides (f.36^r): τοῦτο δεῖ παθητικῶς γράφεται ὡς καὶ Εὐριπίδης· πόνοι γάρ καὶ πόνων ἀνάγκαι κρείσσονταις κυκλοῦνται (*Hec.* 639). καὶ Σαρκιλῆς πολλαὶ κυκλοῦνται νύκτες ἡμέραι τ' ἵσαι (*El.* 1365). This note is not known from any other MS. Then on *Septem* 250 (f.38^v) Ab exhibits the rare note on σίγα which I have published from the MS *Par. suppl. gr.* 110 (Ea).³⁰⁾ This scholium came, as I have shown, from Triclinius' commentary on Soph. *Ai.* 75 remodelled to suit the Aeschylus passage. I took this note, together with the other notes of a learned nature in Ea, to be the work of Karbones, who is also attested as a commentator on Sophocles.³¹⁾ The connection between Ab and Ea is further strengthened by another rare scholium appearing in both MSS, the reworking of Triclinius' note on *Sept.* 332, which Ab has on f.40^v.³²⁾ Since Ea has a number of scholia not found in Ab and the text of the last two scholia are correct in Ab as against Ea, both MSS are independent of each other. In view of the fact that the above scholium on 121 resembles the learned scholia in Ea I would suppose that Ab got this note from the same source as was used for the scholia on 250 and 332, which I am inclined to regard as Karbones.

There is a MS closely resembling Ab, though lacking the scholia mentioned above. The *Matr. 4617* (Ha) is clearly a gemellus, at least in the commentary, to Ab,³³⁾ and further the MS Na (*Ottob. gr. 346*) is a close relative to Ha and Ab, at least in the glosses.

Finally, I would like to mention a MS which calls for much closer analysis than I have been able to undertake as yet. The main problems, however, are sufficiently clear to be set out here. The MS in question is Vienna, *phil.gr. 279* (Yb), which usually has been taken to be a gemellus to Ya (Vienna, *phil.gr. 197*).³⁴⁾ Yb has not been given much attention no doubt because of this opinion about its nature, though there is no reason why Ya should be collated and Yb not. In the scholia, however, Yb is not a gemellus. There are at least two contemporary hands in the poetic text and the scholia in the *Septem* and they seem to have used two different sources. The original scribe of the poetic text used in his scholia the source common to Ya and Yb, while the other hand -- and here I must emphasize that I am only speaking of the part of Yb containing the *Septem* (ff. 40^r-82^v), since still another hand wrote the *Prometheus* part ff. 1-39^v -- used a Thoman source related to the Thoman source employed by Sj, in addition to an old source resembling B and Y. I have still not carried through a detailed analysis of the hands and their sources, but what I have found so far clearly demonstrates that Yb cannot be a simple gemellus of Ya, at least in the scholia.³⁵⁾

It has been argued in recent years that the transmission of the text of Aeschylus is an open one, and these rather eclectic notes on the scholia seem to confirm the diagnosis. I hope to have made it clear that the scholia have been transmitted independently and that the character of the scholia of a given MS may not be used to determine the character of the poetic text. For two reasons: the transmission does not follow the clear-cut rules of our manuals, and apart from the Triclinian edition, no set of scholia on Aeschylus was composed to explain a definite text. I will give one more example of how the MSS actually defy our preconceived notions about how they ought to behave themselves: the MS Z (Athens Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 1056) has been written off as a worthless post-Thoman recension, but the few pages I have seen contain almost exclusively old glosses and some not found elsewhere.³⁶⁾

But let us not forget that it was Alexander Turyn who started all this back in 1943. Without his pioneering work we would still have been in the dark.

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NOTES

1) *Scholia graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia. Pars I, Scholia in Agamemnonem Choephoros Eumenides Supplices continens* ed. O.L. Smith. BSB B.G. Teubner, Leipzig 1976.

2) For the scholia on the *Septem* I have seen and collated the following MSS (I use Turyn's symbols): AAbBBaCDDaEFFbFcFdGHaKLLcLhMNNaNbNcNd OPPcPdQRaRbRcSSgSjTTaUaVWWaXXaXbXcYYaYbZjΔEa. I have only made soundings in SbZZf. I have not yet collated IH and U, which are all important MSS; furthermore, I intend to investigate *Ferrara* 116, *Napoli* II.F.31 bis, II.F.33, *Perugia* H 56, *Vat. gr.* 59, 912 and 920. For my work on the non-triadic plays I have also seen the apographs of M.

3) For Turyn's position see *op. cit.* 13 with n.10. I have argued against his view in *Museum Tusculanum* 34-35 (1979) 16 ff. (in Danish).

4) Turyn, *op. cit.*, 41 and 86. See also C.J. Herington, *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound*, Leiden 1972, 17. I use the symbol Sj for the whole of the Aeschylus part; of course, this is also the symbol used by Herington.

5) Herington, *loc. cit.*

6) For the basic distinction between regular A scholia and the PPd recension see Herington, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.; I have discussed some aspects of P in *Cl. Med.* 31 (1970 = 1975) 35 and 32 (forthcoming).

7) Letter to the present writer of 20 November 1976.

8) The Thoman scholia on the *Septem* have been written with larger letters and more spacing than the A scholia.

9) Until my own edition appear, I have to use Dindorf's unreliable text for reference purposes; where the exact wording comes into question, it is to be understood that I quote from my own collations.

10) I have not been able to identify any of the two hands in Sj.

11) It would seem that already from f.5^r on the scribe had given up coordinated use of two sources; on this page we have first schol. vet. *Prom.* 57a, 60a and 64ad, then schol. Thom. 54 and 62. On the following pages he seems to have carried on this procedure of first copying a row from one source, then from the other. On ff.5^r-6^v he began with the old source, on f.7^r he began with the Thoman one. The arrangement can be seen most clearly on ff.15^v and 28^v, as mentioned above.

12) On Na see Turyn, *op. cit.*, 46.

13) I have not analysed the glosses and scholia on the other plays in Na. On Na's relation to Ab and Ha see below.

14) *Op. cit.*, p.XVII. Page in his Oxford edition (1972) includes R in his list of MSS that "perraro commemorantur" (p.XI). 15) *Op. cit.*, 76.

16) The scholium can be read in Dindorf 317, 26-30. After Ηλογ (line 30) PPdSj add a paraphrase which is not found in the regular A scholia nor in R.

On the other hand, R follows PPdSj in reading ὑποχωρούσης τῆς νυκτὸς (29) against τῆς νυκτὸς ὑποχωρούσης (CNdWVYYaYbXa) or τῆς νυκτὸς ὑποχωρούσης (BDNcXc).

17) See my paper mentioned above (n.3) and also *Cl. Med.* 31 (1970) 18.

18) On the problem of a Thoman recension of Aeschylus see R.D. Dawe, *Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus*, Cambridge 1964, 21, and my remarks in *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus I: The recensions of Demetrius Triclinius*, Leiden 1975, 132 with n.18. The analogous problems in Sophocles and Aristophanes I have discussed in *G.R.B.S.* 17 (1976) 75 ff. and in *Cl. Med.* 32 (forthcoming). On Triclinius distinguishing between a vulgate and old MSS, see my remarks in *Studies*, 130 ff.

19) On this MS see Turyn, *op. cit.*, 41. 20) See Turyn, *op. cit.*, 39.

21) See Turyn, *op. cit.*, 61. 22) See Turyn, *op. cit.*, 31.

23) On the group PVNNdC see Dawe, *op. cit.*, 32 f., and on CWWa, Turyn 61f.

24) M. Vogel-V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, 12, based on Bandini's Catalogue and accepted by Turyn, 41.

25) Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, in *Civitate Vaticana* 1964, tab. 110, subscribed 1335/36.

26) Turyn, 57 f. Dawe 16 says that "Δ seemed to be of central importance in the other half of the Phi tradition," but though he reproduces Turyn's stemma from which it appears that Ba was the source of Δ₁ (Prom. - Septem 1-789) he does not even mention Ba in his discussion of Δ.

27) Turyn noticed that Sept. 790 is the first line on a new recto page (f.62^r), but he seems to have overlooked the change of hands.

28) The analysis given by Turyn 56 f. is not correct, since there is a clear break in Ba between ff.115 and 116. On f.116^r beginning with line 519, until f.130^V, we find a scribe very much resembling Demetrios Moschos. Until that point f.116^r Ba is clearly Thoman in the commentary. On Ba see also Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani*, 159 f.

29) Turyn 42 and 74. 30) *Cl. Med.* 31 (1970 = 1975) 21 f.

31) *Op. cit.* (above n.30), 21 ff. 32) *Op. cit.*, 22.

33) See Turyn 62.

34) Turyn 43. For a description of the MSS see now H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Teil I, Wien 1961, 309 f. and 381 f.

35) The original scribe wrote the marginal scholia as far as f.50^V agreeing with Ya. The last scholium on this page has been written by a different hand (schol. 239 Dd. 328,13-16) and seems to be related to B (Laur. 31,3). In the next scholium 242 on f.51^r (Dd. 328,21-24) Yb quite obviously sides with B against Ya. There are also many Thoman scholia belonging to the first state of Yb; I emphasize this because some Thoman scholia in Yb evidently are additions, e.g. on f.52^V. The original scribe of the poetic text returns to write scholia on f.75^V and agrees again with Ya.

36) Turyn, 93. I have only seen ff.167^r-170^r, containing Septem 795-919.

THE END OF THE TRACHINIAE

P. E. EASTERLING

The Exodus of *Trachiniae* (971-1278) is generally agreed to be the most problematic part of a problematic play. Of the many questions that could be asked about it this paper proposes three: I. What sense can we make of the presentation of Heracles? II. What are the implications of the two new motifs introduced in the Exodus -- the pyre on Mt. Oeta and the marriage of Hyllus and Iole? III. Who speaks the last lines and to whom? These are not novel questions, or ones which admit of conclusive answers, but they are worth reconsidering in the light of continuing critical discussion of the play.

I. THE PRESENTATION OF HERACLES

I should like to begin by eliminating one much-debated question: Who is the 'real hero' of this play? Is it Deianira, or Heracles, or both of them, or even Hyllus? I suggest that to Sophocles, the author of *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Philoctetes*, this would not have been an important or even a particularly meaningful question.¹⁾ (Conceivably, of course, he was much influenced in the writing of a play by considerations of the available talent; it is just possible that he shaped *Trachiniae* as he did, with the protagonist taking the parts of both Deianira and Heracles, because he had one outstanding star actor. But we have no means of telling.) More significant for our purposes is the sequence of events in the Exodus and the relation of these events to the rest of the play.

The Exodus begins and ends with a procession, of which the focal point is Heracles carried in a litter. This is very different from the kind of procession we were encouraged to expect earlier in the play (e.g. 181-86, 640-46). The triumphal

homecoming is replaced by a silent and solemn entry: ὥς φίλου / προκηδομένα βαρεῖαν / ἄψοφον φέρει βάσιν (965-67). Heracles is either dead already or asleep, exhausted by the agonies of torture he has been suffering in the poisoned robe. At the end of the play the procession is echoed; but this time Heracles is awake, in control, going to his death in a special place and in a specially prescribed ceremony, and displaying heroic endurance. There is both a parallel and a contrast: something has happened in the *Exodos* to alter the pattern. What happens is a series of revelations. First the *nosos* of Heracles is manifested to us: we hear his cries of agony (983-1017) and see the ravages of the poison on his body (1076-80); then what Hyllus reveals to Heracles about Deianira and the philtre precipitates Heracles' revelation of the second oracle, which he can at last interpret, in conjunction with the one so often mentioned earlier in the play (1159-73, cf. 76 ff., 157 ff., 821 ff.). From this point onwards the action leads to a new end, which has not been foreshadowed in the preceding events except in the most glancing ways. Linforth²⁾ acutely saw that the play's logic need not extend beyond the *nosos* and presumed subsequent death of Heracles; the pyre on Oeta and the marriage of Hyllus and Iole are not necessary for the conclusion of this story, and we have to find a separate explanation for why they are there.

Many readers have been offended, shocked or puzzled by this sequence of events; Denys Page in a famous review called it an 'incomprehensible appendix'.³⁾ The first question that arises, in any attempt to understand it, is how it relates to the first three-quarters of the play.

An important and fundamental point about the dynamics of *Trachiniae* has been well made by Oliver Taplin in his recent book on Aeschylus.⁴⁾ Like *Persae*, this is a *nostos* play: the return of Heracles is the dominant subject all the way through, right from the Prologue, where the issue is raised at 36 ff. For the first 970 lines we are waiting for Heracles to arrive -- the same pattern as in *Agamemnon* or Euripides' *Heracles* -- and as Taplin rightly claims, the scene we are waiting for is 'the focus and conclusion of the tragedy'.⁵⁾

Moreover, the absence of contact between Deianira and Heracles, which has often been seen as an embarrassment or dramatic flaw, is better interpreted as a significant part of this overall design, since Sophocles seems to go out of his way to bring on stage people and things through which these characters are linked. *Iole* has shared Heracles' bed; now she is to be taken into Deianira's house; *Lichas* goes between husband and wife as messenger and bearer of gifts; the robe⁶⁾ itself is seen on stage in its casket (622), with Deianira's seal (614 f.), and later it reappears -- insofar as it is inseparable from Heracles' body (an idea much stressed at 767 ff., 1050 ff.) -- when he throws back the coverings and displays its ravages (1078 ff.). *Hyllus* is physically close to both parents and will lie with *Iole*: his father calls to him through the smoke (797 ff.), he touches and raises Heracles as he lies in the litter (1020 ff.), he embraces Deianira's corpse with the ardour of a lover (936 ff.). All these links between husband and wife surely reinforce the dramatic effect of their failure to meet, so that far from being a sign of essentially episodic structure⁷⁾ this is given a special tension and significance.

There are other ways in which the action of the *Exodos* relates to that of the rest of the play. This final sequence continues the pattern of finding out which has such importance earlier on: one by one the characters learn, too late, the real truth of the situation: Deianira that the supposed love charm is a poison, *Hyllus* that he has wrongly accused his mother, Heracles that Nessus is the originator of his suffering and that the oracles are truly being fulfilled. Even *Lichas* finds out -- fleetingly -- that what he has been carrying is not a gift but a deadly poison: 775 f. emphasizes his ignorance (ὅ δ' οὐδὲν εἰδὼς δύσμορος τὸ σὸν μόνης / δώρημ' ἔλεξεν). This movement of progressive revelation, which is strongly marked in the language of the play (ἔκμανθάνειν and ἐκδιδασκεῖν are key words), has often been noted by critics -- Reinhardt,⁸⁾ Whitman,⁹⁾ even Pound,¹⁰⁾ who insists on the importance of 1174, ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει, τέκνον, ' "what / splendour, it all coheres": this is the key phrase for which

the play exists.' One motif which contributes to this theme (and is continued in the *Exodos*) is that of writing: Deianira describes the old tablet with its inscribed message that Heracles gave her when he left (*παλαιὸν δέλτον ἔγγεγραμμένην / ξυνθήμαθ'*, 157 f.) and later compares her careful remembrance of the Centaur's inscriptions to the preservation of a written text on a bronze tablet (*ἔσωζόμην, / χαλκῆς ὅπως δύσνιπτον ἐκ δέλτου γραφήν*, 682 f.); at 1165 ff. Heracles recalls how he wrote down what the oracular oak told him at Dodona. In each case the implication is that the knowledge exists -- the message is there, available and unchanging -- but it only becomes intelligible in the light of events.¹¹

As with learning and revealing, so with the other themes given prominence in the *Exodos*: all have their origins earlier in the play. The sickness of Heracles, which is presented on stage in the *Exodos*, was first introduced as a metaphor for the passion with which he was seized: *ώστ' εἴ τι τώμῷ τ' ἀνδρὶ τῆδε τῇ νόσῳ / ληφθέντι μεμπτός είμι, μάρτα μαίνομαι*, 445 f. The idea of the *nosos* as a wild beast (974 ff., 979 ff., 987, 1026 ff.) and the exploits of Heracles as beast-killer (1058 ff., 1091 ff.) recall the themes of Heracles' fights with Achelous (9 ff., 507 ff.) and Nessus (555 ff.) and of his own beast-like violence (779 ff.).¹² His loss of manhood -- weeping like a woman (*ὅστις ώστε παρθένος / βέβουχα κλαίων*, 1071 f., cf. 1075) -- reminds us of the helpless *παρθένοι* earlier in the play: Deianira waiting as he fought the river god (21 ff., 527 ff.), Iole and the train of captives (298 ff.), all details which strongly emphasize the power of *eros*. And the relationship between father and son, pointedly examined in the scene where Heracles makes his demands of Hyllus, has been important from the Prologue onwards, with its stress on the idea of Heracles as son of Zeus (*ὁ κλεινός κῆλθε ζηνός 'Αλκμήνης τε παῖς*, 19, cf. 139 f.). Again, Heracles, the sacrificer on Mt. Cenaeum, is now, it seems, going to be the sacrificial victim on Mt. Oeta.

So much for the formal considerations: it seems clear that in terms of structure and dramatic development the *Exodos* is very fully integrated with the rest of the play. But in the end this is not the controversial issue. Are we not so morally --

or aesthetically -- affronted by Heracles that the formal coherence becomes meaningless? Critics have often noted that there is a striking difference in the way Sophocles handles Deianira and Heracles. She has the advantage of being on stage much longer than he, she is given a high proportion of the poetry, she is presented throughout as a deeply sympathetic character -- noble, compassionate, modest -- involved, moreover, in a morally interesting situation: she takes a fatal decision and is seen facing its consequences. As Hyllus says of her, Μηαρτε χρηστὰ μωμένη (1136), a perfect formula for the tragic heroine. And yet she is dismissed from the end of the play; and Heracles does not take back his wish to punish her when he hears the truth about Nissus. He, by contrast, occupies the stage for only 300 lines, and although he is given some superb rhetoric (particularly in the speech Cicero chose for translation, 1046 ff.; *Tusc. Disp.* 2.8-10), he has nothing like Deianira's poetic range. He is shown to be egocentric, brutally callous, violent; and this is stressed through the reactions of the sympathetic Hyllus. We are no more encouraged in this play to take it for granted that great men do and should behave like Heracles than we are supposed in *O.C.* to think that Oedipus ought not to be merciful to Polynices (Antigone's plea on her brother's behalf is precisely that other fathers have had bad sons and yet have forgiven them, 1181 ff.). Finally, Heracles is in no position to take interesting moral decisions, and there is nothing here to compare with the new depth of insight achieved by the Heracles of Euripides' play, though his self-control and endurance at the end demand to be taken very seriously. What sense can be made of this curious contrast?

The essence, surely, of the portrayal of Heracles is its ambiguity. Just as Tamburlaine and Julius Caesar are ambiguous figures in their respective plays, so is Sophocles' Heracles. In the long preparation for his arrival the discreditable stories about his killing of Iphitus and sacking of Oechalia are balanced by the sympathetic voices of Hyllus and the Chorus, for whom, as for Deianira, he is still 'the best of men' (177; 811 f.; 1112 f.). So the audience is invited to be aghast at Hyllus' account of his agony in the poisoned robe and at the

same time horrified by the death of Lichas; in the *Exodos* Heracles' acutely pitiable sufferings are matched by his alarming rage and cruelty. At the very end, when the name 'Nessus' makes everything fall into place, his words are given a new kind of authority, a sureness which commands respect just as his endurance of the extremes of pain commands awe. But there is no indication that he knows *why* he must do what he does, and the final response of Hyllus is one of bafflement and outrage.

If this general approach to the presentation of Heracles is accepted we can dispense with views of the play which see it in clear-cut terms, whether as a straightforward moral parable in which the arrogant Heracles is brought low¹³⁾ or at the other extreme as some sort of heroic progress towards apotheosis.¹⁴⁾ What, then, can we say about the dramatist's choice of Heracles and the story? Plainly it serves more complex purposes than the opposition and contrast between male and female, which is the basis of many interpretations, particularly those which see *Trachiniae* as an essentially domestic or social tragedy.¹⁵⁾ Heracles and Deianira are indeed at opposite poles, and the polarity is of the greatest dramatic importance, but they also share the same fate: both are victims of *eros*, as the play elaborately demonstrates; both act in ignorance for their own destruction. In the end humanity matters more than gender. Another factor that needs to be given weight if we are to take account of everything that the play makes prominent is the special, atypical status of Heracles as son of Zeus and 'best of men'.

Interesting attempts have been made to approach the problem of Heracles by way of the play's unusual myths. Reinhardt,¹⁶⁾ Letters,¹⁷⁾ and more recently Segal¹⁸⁾ have all found a remote, primitive, fairytale quality in these stories -- particularly in the tale of Achelous -- which perhaps can offer a clue to interpretation. The fullest development of these ideas has been made by Segal, who traces the opposition of two sets of values: on the one hand those of the *oikos*, represented by Deianira, the 'quiet' virtues admired in the fifth century, the ideal of civilised order, on the other the wilds of nature (*Cenaeum*, *Oeta*), archaic heroism, the violence of the beast, all repre-

sented by Heracles, who 'never emerges entirely from the remote mythology and from the ancient powers of nature which he vanquishes.'¹⁹⁾ The play tells of a 'violent primitive past encroaching upon and destroying a civilized house with which we identify and sympathize.'²⁰⁾ But its movement culminates in the emergence of a new kind of heroism; Deianira's death is just an ending, but that of Heracles holds a sense of the future: he 'traverses the path from an archaic, epic heroism to a heroism that is fully tragic.'²¹⁾

No one could deny that the myths of Achelous, Nessus, and the Hydra are used to very powerful effect to suggest the beast-like power and violence of *eros* at work in human beings -- in Deianira as well as in Heracles -- and the extreme fragility of order and civilisation. But one may be less confident that Heracles was perceived as an archaic figure by Sophocles and his audience and should be so read by us. (Indeed, Ehrenberg, far from seeing Heracles as a hero of the old style, thought he typified a new kind of mentality, 'the spirit of the great individualistic movement of the fifth century.'²²⁾) It is tempting to conclude from our modern vantage point that the Greeks of the fifth century were as interested as we are in the contrast between their values and those of the heroic, particularly the Homeric, world. (Even *Ajax*, which contains some striking contrasts of 'old' and 'new' views of conduct and politics, may not be first and foremost a commentary on the passing of old values.) In fact it is particularly difficult to disentangle contemporary concerns from a poet's imaginative response to the world of myth; and before we can be sure that in *Trachiniae* Sophocles is juxtaposing 'archaic' and 'modern' in the way suggested by Segal we need to examine in greater detail than would be appropriate here the kind of heroic world that his plays project. Meanwhile there is one point on the 'archaism' of the play that can provisionally be made. It is noticeable that the past is given very strong emphasis in this play: Deianira has an 'old' tablet that Heracles left with her (157) and an 'old' gift presented to her by the Centaur long ago (555); Heracles remembers an 'old' oracle of Zeus (1159, 1165). But these are all references to

events within the adult lifetime of the characters. Perhaps this insistence on the passage of time has more to do with the theme of ignorance and knowledge than with ideas about a past era which contrasts with the present. All this time, the implication seems to be, Deianira and Heracles have had the truth available to them, but they have not been able to interpret it. Certainly the past threatens the present -- the dead can kill the living -- but perhaps for Sophocles this is always true.

Time and knowledge bring me at last to my own view of Heracles in this play. I find it illuminating to go back to a traditional Greek way of using myth, familiar already in Homer, the argument *a fortiori*: the most famous example is Achilles citing Niobe to Priam as a paradigm of one who has suffered even worse bereavement than he. The relevant 'text' for *Trachiniae* is *Iliad* 18.117-19:

ούδε γὰρ ούδε βίη 'Ηρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα,
ὅσπερ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἀνακτί,
ἀλλά ἐ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος "Ηρης.

Even Heracles had to die... the greatest of men; and so Achilles schools himself to accept his own fate. Man facing his mortality is itself a great tragic theme, but in *Trachiniae* it is complicated by two fundamental human factors: ignorance (man never knows enough to make right judgements and avoid harming himself) and passion (he does things that will harm him and his *phili* under the influence of irrational forces like *eros*). At the opposite extreme to Heracles is Deianira, trying to be *sophron*. We may not all have the capacity for greatness, but we can be good, or try to be. Even so, her lack of knowledge, complicated by *eros*, is enough to make her fail disastrously and suffer like Heracles. This is the pattern of a *consolatio* (though one of a very unsentimental kind). If even these people destroyed themselves and one another we should not be surprised if life is full of illusion and deception for us, too. And the tragedy is deepened if the 'greatest' in human endeavour is also disturbingly near the beast -- a reminder of the precarious nature of all civilisation.

Does this story have any significance beyond its power to convey a sense of human dignity in endurance and of pity for human limitations? Is the mysterious will of Zeus in *Trachiniae* essentially different from the caprices of say, Aphrodite and Artemis in *Hippolytus*? The play gives us few definite clues. But the Chorus' question about the concern of Zeus for his children in the Parodos (139 f.) is in part answered by the action of the play. The causation of everything that happens is clearly traced: Heracles' present suffering is shown to be the product of his *eros* for Iole and Deianira's *eros* for him. Deianira has the means (unwittingly) to destroy him because of the Centaur's trick, which relied on the fact that Heracles in shooting him had used an arrow dipped in the poison of the Hydra, another of his monstrous victims. Actions have their consequences. Hyllus' closing denunciation of the gods' *agnomosyne* (1266) is thus set in an ironic context: we know more than Hyllus about these events. Moreover, there is the end: the pyre and the marriage with Iole, which are surely ambivalent, not just tokens of the suffering and brutally of Heracles and the distress of Hyllus.

II. THE PYRE AND THE MARRIAGE OF HYLLUS AND IOLE

At 1174 ff. Heracles solemnly binds Hyllus on oath to do as he asks. Hyllus and his helpers are instructed to carry Heracles up to Mt. Oeta, cut wood -- oak and wild olive -- for a pyre, and set it alight with pine torches. There is to be no ritual of mourning -- no lamentation or tears. This is a very strange prescription, which Hyllus finds horrifying since it threatens to involve him in pollution; and at 1211 ff. Heracles modifies his instructions so that Hyllus may remain ritually pure: someone else may actually light the pyre. No explanation is offered for these directions; but Heracles speaks with confident authority, and it is natural to assume that he is recalling the commands of Zeus (cf. 1149 f., ὡς τελευταίαν ἔμοι / φήμην πύθησθε θεοφάτων ὅσ' οἴδ' ἔγώ, whether this means 'the final pronouncement of the oracles that I know' or, less likely, 'the pronouncement of the oracles that I know concerning my death').

Sophocles did not invent the story of the pyre on Mt. Oeta: there was already a myth that Heracles met his death there, and we know of a cult established long before Sophocles' time in which bonfires were lighted on the top of the mountain and offerings made to Heracles. Excavations have yielded figurines and inscriptions which confirm the literary tradition.²³⁾ It is therefore very likely indeed that for an Athenian audience the direction to build and light the pyre on Oeta would relate to an institution and a story which were perfectly familiar to them, just as the cults at Troezen and Corinth mentioned by Euripides at the end of *Hippolytus* and *Medea* respectively belonged to real contemporary life and formed a link between the world of the drama and the world of the audience. So it would be surprising if the episode of the pyre in *Trachiniae* was designed purely to suggest the capricious perversity of Heracles, and the audience might be expected to understand more than Hyllus about the significance of Heracles' commands (at least to the extent of feeling that they *had* some significance). It is also very likely, as Lloyd-Jones²⁴⁾ has pointed out, that lines 1211-14, in which Heracles gives permission for someone else to light the pyre, refer to the story that Poeas, or his son Philoctetes, was the person responsible (cf. *Phil.* 801-03). However, we simply do not know whether the story of the pyre was necessarily associated with the widespread and popular story of Heracles' apotheosis at the time when the play was written.

The apotheosis makes its appearance quite early in the literary sources, but in an interestingly suspicious way: it is absent from the *Iliad* (cf. *Il.* 18.117-19, quoted above), and in our text of *Odyssey* 11 it is mentioned rather incongruously in the middle of an account of the Underworld (602-04). According to the scholiast, the lines were believed to be an insertion by the sixth-century Orphic Onomacritus. At the end of the *Theogony* (950-55) there is a brief account of Hebe, the divine wife of Heracles on Olympus, but this occurs in a passage which according to the old scholia had been athetised (ἀθετοῦται). Again, in the papyrus of fr.25 (Merkelbach and West), which gives an account of Deianira and the robe and the death of He-

racles, there is a section on Heracles in heaven (20-33), which is marked in the margins with obeli. Evidently the story of the apotheosis was agreed not to be ancient; on the other hand it must have been thoroughly established by Sophocles' time, as we can tell from three passages in Pindar (*N.* 1.69-72; *N.* 10.17 f.; *I.* 4.73-78, lineation as in Snell and Maehler), and from large numbers of Attic vases which show Heracles setting off for Olympus or being welcomed when he gets there. These clearly presuppose apotheosis, but there is no sign of a pyre in their iconography, and Heracles travels on foot or by chariot.²⁵⁾

No specific link is made between the pyre and the apotheosis in any of our evidence until about the middle of the fifth century, but there is no means of telling whether this is purely accidental. Either the two stories circulated independently for a long period and only merged at a quite late stage, or they had long ago been moulded into a single whole, so that allusion to the apotheosis naturally carried with it thoughts of the pyre, and *vice versa*.²⁶⁾ The first extant literary reference to apotheosis from the pyre is *Heraclidae* 910-16: ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βεβαίως τεὸς γόνος, ὃ γεραῖ/ά· φεύγει λόγον ὡς τὸν "Αἰ/δα δόμον κατέβα, πυρὸς / δεινῷ φλογὶ σῶμα δαισθεῖς·/ "Ηβας τ' ἐρατὸν χροῖζει / λέχος χρυσέαν κατ' αὐλάν. The play is undated, but most scholars believe that it belongs to the period 430-427 B.C.²⁷⁾ Sophocles himself mentions the story in *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.) at 727-29: ἵν' ὁ χάλκασπις ἀνὴρ θεοῖς / πλάθει πᾶσιν²⁸⁾ θείω πυρὶ παμφάης / Οὔτας ὑπὲρ ὅχθων. Vases showing both the pyre and some indication of divine intervention (nymphs quenching the fire) appear about the middle of the century.²⁹⁾ The motif never becomes popular in art, but this could have been for artistic reasons rather than because the myth was little known.³⁰⁾

In the present state of our evidence, therefore, we have to admit that we do not precisely know what the first audience at *Trachiniai* could be expected to take for granted when they heard the reference to Mt. Oeta, though we can be confident that it meant something to them; the problem is of course aggravated by our complete uncertainty about the date of the play. But in

the end the state of the myth at the time of the first production is less important than other considerations. We must not forget that a dramatist was (and is) always free to impose his own reading on a tradition and (an even more fundamental point) any myth and any play that is written about it are essentially different media. Heracles -- or Napoleon or Queen Victoria, for that matter -- has a 'real' mythological (or historical) existence independent of any work of art composed about him, whereas the Heracles of a play, and his deeds as presented in it, have a reality which exists only within the confines of the play's logic. So we can approach *Trachiniae* and (e.g.) *Heracles* on their own terms without having to try to reconcile them, and when we watch or read one dramatist's interpretation of a story we are not expected to keep the detail of other versions in mind unless specifically invited to do so, as in parody or burlesque, or in an allusive drama like Euripides' *Electra*. So it was quite open to Sophocles to leave out of his play whatever he chose of Heracles' story; but he might also, if he wished, select aspects of the myth as the subject of ironic allusion. I have argued that the reference to the pyre on Mt. Oeta is just such an ironic allusion outside the events narrated in the play, and that it relates to something familiar in fifth-century cult and belief, but this is not to suggest that the allusion *compels* the audience to imagine a sequel in which Heracles is taken up into heaven trailing clouds of glory: Sophocles leaves a gap (just as he does at the end of *Electra*), and the only clues he gives are to be found in the action of the rest of the play, particularly in the *Exodus*.

The emphasis of the play has been on suffering and death, in the spirit of the passage in *Iliad* 18 (and the authority of Homer was no doubt a kind of anchor for this reading). The *Exodus* has opened in despair, and the action presented in it has been harrowing -- the rage and pain of Heracles, the horror and bewilderment of Hyllus -- but it ends in an atmosphere of new authority. If I am right about Oeta and the pyre, there is a suggestion that some significance should be attached to the manner of Heracles' end, that it fits into a larger scheme of things in which Zeus' will is mysteriously fulfilled.³¹⁾ Whether it leads to a good or a bad end is not made clear, and Heracles

himself shows no sign of understanding it. But his behaviour as he goes to his death suggests that he has at last grasped something -- the paradox, perhaps, that the most a human being can achieve (even the greatest and best, the son of Zeus himself) is an acceptance of the great gulf between human and divine knowledge. And this itself is arrived at only through extremes of suffering.

It is no doubt true that the silence of the play about what happened on Mt. Oeta left room for different responses on the part of the original audience -- depending on the particular flavour of their piety or their view of life -- just as it has left modern critics in a state of perpetual disagreement. But that does not matter, provided that the portrayal of the *pathos* of Heracles -- and Deianira -- has been convincing. The play's ending in mystery and irony could indeed be a way of stressing the extreme inscrutability of the events that the dramatist has been asking us to watch. This is very different from arguing, as T.F. Hoey does in a recent paper, that when Sophocles 'speaks to us of apotheosis, but as it were over the heads of the actors' through the references to Mr. Oeta and the pyre, the effect is 'to leave the question open, as though the play had weighed both options and felt itself unable to decide.'³²⁾ The important point is surely that a play imposes its own logic and enjoys its own autonomy, however much the dramatist may indulge in self-conscious ironies (e.g., reminding the audience that it is watching a play, making links, by such devices as aetiology, between the past in which the play is set and the present in which it is performed, alluding to other versions or treatments of the story, and so on): these are all in fact gestures of confidence in the particular version arrived at by this dramatist, and the play is never 'unable to decide.'

At 1216 ff. Heracles makes his second, 'minor' request of Hyllus: that he should marry Iole. Once more Hyllus is horrified and once again his religious scruples are offended, this time at the thought of associating with someone he regards as an agent of the deaths of both his parents. Of course this scene adds further to our sense of Heracles' passionate self-regard -- all attempts to give his words an altruistic colouring have

been unconvincing -- but at the same time he speaks with the authority of history.³³⁾ Hyllus and Iole were the ancestors of the famous Heraclidae, who had an undoubted historical reality³⁴⁾ for the original audience, and Heracles' command therefore has the same kind of ironic link with the world outside the play as his reference to Oeta (but in this case we do not have the special complication of the apotheosis to cloud the issue). For Hyllus, who does not know the future of the great clan that he is to found, there is nothing but horror in his father's request. But for us there must be a more complex significance, even though our pity for him is not lessened by our knowledge of the future.

Finally, Hyllus' famous line τὰ μὲν οὖν μέλλοντ' οὐδεὶς ἔφορῷ (1270)³⁵⁾ has often been taken as an allusion to the apotheosis, despite the negative way in which it is formulated. Hoey is right to elucidate it as laying stress on the present suffering: the future cannot be known, but the tragedy of Heracles is not future, it is here before our eyes.³⁶⁾ I would simply add that at the very end of a play Sophocles often introduces a glancing reference outside the action, suggesting, as it were, that there *is* a future... but this would have to be the subject of a different play. So in *Philoctetes* there is the allusion to possible atrocities at the sack of Troy in Heracles' warning to observe εὔσεβεια (1440-44); in *O.C.* Antigone's appeal to Theseus to be allowed to return to Thebes and reconcile her quarrelling brothers (1769-72) opens up a perspective which belongs to *Antigone*; in *Electra* Aegisthus' enigmatic remark about the coming evils of the Pelopidae (τὰ τ' ὅντα καὶ μέλλοντα Πελοπιδῶν κακά, 1498) suggests directions that the play could have chosen to take. The closing scene is a particularly appropriate place for this kind of device which draws attention to the play as a play; Euripides' use of the *deus* is in some respects analogous.

III. 1275-1278

λείπου μηδὲ σύ, παρθέν', ἀπ' οἶκων,
μεγάλους μὲν ἴδοῦσα νέους θανάτους,
πολλὰ δὲ πῆματα (καὶ) καινοπαθή·
κούδεν τούτων ὁ τι μὴ Ζεύς.

1. Who is the speaker? Clearly there was uncertainty in antiquity over the attribution of these lines: most of the MSS give them to 'either Chorus or Hyllus.' Many editors have preferred to assign them to the Chorus, because Choruses usually do end plays (there are no examples in extant Sophocles and Euripides where they do not, but that may not be significant, and in any case some endings are probably spurious), or because a need has been felt for some sort of corrective to Hyllus' denunciation of the gods, or (more respectably, perhaps) because these lines have a 'chorus-sound.'³⁷⁾ In fact the interpretation of the play remains much the same either way. If the Chorus speak these words they offer a comment which is perfectly neutral in itself, on the lines of Ζεὺς τά τε καὶ τὰ νέμεται, / Ζεὺς δὲ πάντων κύριος in Pindar (I. 5.52 f.) or Ιὼ Ιήν, διατι Διός / παναπίου πανεργέτα· / τι γάρ βροτοῖς ἀνευ Διός τελεῖται; in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1485-87); this is not presented as a contradiction of Hyllus' blasphemy,³⁸⁾ though it is bound to have the effect of modifying the final tone. If Hyllus is the speaker then the denunciation of Zeus continues to the end, but for the audience it is qualified by the element of irony in the preceding scenes: they know more than Hyllus, because they have seen the full causation of the events and have been reminded of the future of the Heraclidae. My own preference is for the Chorus, but I do not think the case can be proved.

2. Who is the παρθένος? There are three possible candidates: Iole, the Chorus, and the girls of the household who were mentioned at 202 (φωνήσατ', ὃ γυναικες, κτλ.). Tournier, quoting Dübner, suggested that Iole was most likely, because Sophocles wanted the daughter of Eurytus to be present at the expiation of the murder of her father and brothers; but this is not a view that has found much favour. Even so, there has been some support for the idea that Iole is intended:³⁹⁾ then the singular παρθένε presents no problem, and it has been argued that her reappearance at the end would emphasize all the horror she has unwittingly caused. The most extravagant suggestion on these lines has been made by K.F. Slater,⁴⁰⁾ who would have the play end with the palace doors opening for the presentation of an *ekkuklema*, with Deianira on her bed and Iole standing contemplating it. But there are several major objections to the re-

appearance of Iole. The immediately preceding scene is plainly played without her (1219 f.: 'Do you know Eurytus' daughter?' 'You mean Iole, I think'....). As Hourmouziades⁴¹⁾ points out, it would be very odd for her to make a silent entrance while Heracles and Hyllus are talking, and moreover Sophocles is quite in the habit of allowing characters to disappear from the action: one might compare Ismene in *Antigone* and Chrysothemis in *Electra*. In any case, many critics have felt that Iole is simply not wanted at the end of the play (Winnington-Ingram calls it 'virtually unthinkable'⁴²⁾), and this aesthetic feeling is supported by the argument that she is not the right person to be described as the witness of what has been happening: μεγάλους μὲν ἴδοῦσα νέους θανάτους, / πολλὰ δὲ πήματα <καὶ> καινοπαθῆ. She was not mentioned in the Nurse's account of Deianira's death, and she has not been on stage earlier in the *Exodos* to see the suffering of Heracles. The Chorus are *par excellence* the witnesses, and they are therefore dramatically much more important here.

If we dismiss Iole we are left with only the Chorus as a serious candidate. The 'women of the house' are altogether too shadowy to be considered (despite Campbell's advocacy). There is nothing wrong with the Chorus at all apart from the oddity of the singular self-address παρθένε. (The second person plural is of course common: cf. ὦ παῖδες at 821). The problem is discussed by M. Vuorenjuuri in the context of such parallels as there are,⁴³⁾ but she points out that it is bedevilled by our ignorance of the distribution of parts within lyrics, so that passages which look parallel may in fact be addressed to a single chorus member, e.g. *Ion* 193 φύλα, πρόσιδ' ὅσσοις. But even if this is an exceptional instance it is not out of the question, since plural choruses often use the *first* person singular of themselves. At least the dramatic considerations are strongly in favour of taking παρθένε as the Chorus here -- and these lead us to the next question.

3. What is the addressee being told to do? Attempts have been made (by Mazon and Kamerbeek) to take λείπου... ἀπ' οἴκων as 'stay away from your homes,' but Dawe⁴⁴⁾ has rightly dismissed this interpretation of λείπομαι ἀπό: the two relevant Homeric examples (*Il.* 9.437 and 444) carry the overtone 'be

left alone, away from,' which is not what is wanted here. In any case, we are surely not interested in the Chorus' homes: οἶκων must refer to the house that has been so important all the way through the play. With the ancient variant ἐπ' the sense becomes much clearer: 'do not you be left behind in the house, either.' The Chorus are to leave the orchestra, in the processional movement sometimes implied at the end of a play, cf. *Aj.* 1413 f. ἀλλ' ἄγε πᾶς... σούσθω, Βάτω; *Phil.* 1469 χωρῶμεν δὴ (or νῦν) πάντες ἀολλεῖς; and in Euripides, *Tro.* 1329-32; *Her.* 1427; *Suppl.* 1232; *Hec.* 1293. Where should the Chorus be going? Home, or up to Oeta with the rest of the people of Trachis? This is surely where they belong, in the procession of witnesses. Dawe proposes ἔτ' οἶκτων (already suggested by Vauvilliers, according to Tournier): 'do not you, either, my dear, refrain from tears any longer.' But this is hardly the right thing for the Chorus to be telling itself, as it were introducing a *threnos* that is to take place after the close of the play, when Heracles has given firm instructions to Hyllus that he must do everything ἀστένακτος ιάδάκρυτος (1200) there is a sense of ritual prescription here which makes Heracles' words seems to extend to everyone present on this solemn occasion. Dawe's reason for reading ἔτ' οἶκτων is that with ἐπ' οἶκων there is no link between ιδοῦσα and the imperative: 'don't you be left behind either at the house, having seen a terrible death recently.' But if the Chorus are telling themselves to join the funeral procession it is more 'acceptable and natural' than Dawe allows. 'You have witnessed the *pathos*, now join the procession to its final phase.' Dawe also favours Subkoff's μελέους, but μεγάλους must be kept: 1276 μεγάλους μὲν ιδοῦσα νέους θανάτους (the death of Deianira) is precisely matched by 1277 πολλὰ δὲ πήματα <καὶ> καινοπαθῆ (what has been happening to Heracles): μεγάλους is balanced by πολλά and νέους by καινοπαθῆ.⁴⁵⁾

NOTES

- 1) Cf. R.P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles: an interpretation*, 1980, 75.
- 2) I.M. Linforth, 'The pyre on Mount Oeta in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*', *Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Philol.* 14.7 (1952) 255-67.
- 3) *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 317.
- 4) *The stagecraft of Aeschylus*, 1977, 124.
- 5) *Stagecraft*, 84.
- 6) Cf. C.P. Segal, 'The Hydra's nursling,' *A.C.* 44 (1975) 615: 'Hercules and Deianira meet, in fact, only through the poisoned robe.'
- 7) I deliberately avoid the term 'diptych,' which in my view has done more harm than good in Sophoclean criticism.
- 8) K. Reinhardt, *Sophokles*, 3rd ed. 1947, 52 f. (= 43 f. in the English translation by H. and D. Harvey, 1979).
- 9) C.H. Whitman, *Sophocles: a study in heroic humanism*, 1951, ch.6.
- 10) Ezra Pound, *The women of Trachis*, 1956, 66.
- 11) *Hippolytus* is another play in which writing is an important motif.
- 12) Cf. 'Sophocles' *Trachiniae*', *B.I.C.S.* 15 (1968) 64 f.; C.P. Segal, 'Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: myth, poetry, and heroic values,' *Y.C.S.* 25 (1977) 113-16.
- 13) Cf. H.D.F. Kitto, *Poesis*, 1966, ch.4.
- 14) An extravagant version of this view is put forward by A.M. Etman, Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἀποθεώσεως τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, Diss. Athens, 1974.
- 15) E.g., C.M. Bowra, *Sophoclean Tragedy*, 1944, 144; D. Wender, 'The will of the beast,' *Ramus* 3 (1974) 2-4.
- 16) *Sophokles*, 45 f. (= 37 f. in the English translation).
- 17) F.J.H. Letters, *The life and work of Sophocles*, 1953, 176 f., 192 f.
- 18) *Y.C.S.* 25 (1977) 99-158 and 'Eroismo tragico nelle "Trachinie" di Sofocle,' *Dioniso* 45 (1971-74) 99-111.
- 19) *Y.C.S.* 25 (1977) 100. 20) *Ib.*, 106. 21) *Ib.*, 157.
- 22) V. Ehrenberg, 'Tragic Hercules,' *D.U.J.* n.s. 4 (1943) 58 (reprinted in *Aspects of the ancient world*, 1946, and *Polis und Imperium*, ed. K. F. Strohacker and A.J. Graham, 1965).
- 23) Cf. M.P. Nilsson, 'Der Flammentod des Herakles auf dem Oite,' *A.R.W.* 21 (1922) 310-16, reprinted in *Opuscula selecta* I, 1951, 348 ff.; M. Mühl, 'Des Herakles Himmelfahrt,' *Rh.M.* 101 (1958) 106-34. A passing reference in Herodotus (7.198) suggests that the story of the pyre was well known.
- 24) H. Lloyd-Jones, *The justice of Zeus*, 1971, 128 and n.150.
- 25) Cf. F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3rd ed. 1973, 159-74; J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and sons,' *R.A.* (1972) 57-72.

26) On the myths of Heracles see G.S. Kirk, *The nature of Greek myths*, 1974, ch.8; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen u. klassischen Epoche*, 1977, 319-24.

27) Cf. G. Zuntz, *The political plays of Euripides*, 1955, 81-88; D. Conacher, *Euripidean drama*, 1967, 120-24.

28) Πᾶσιν is Triclinius' makeshift emendation of the corrupt Πᾶσι, but the reference to apotheosis is unambiguous despite uncertainty over this word.

29) Cf. J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan vase painting*, 1947, 103-05; C. Clairmont, 'Studies in Greek mythology and vase-painting. I. Heracles on the pyre,' *A.J.A.* 57 (1953) 85-89. A pelike in Munich by the Kadmos Painter (ARV² 1186.30, last quarter of the fifth century?) shows Heracles and Athena driving off above the pyre in a chariot; illustrated in *A.J.A.* 45 (1941) 371.

30) Miss L.M. Burn, to whom I am indebted for advice on the artistic evidence, suggests that the pyre may not have been a subject which would appeal to most fifth-century vase painters: pyres are not easy to show successfully on vases, and in any case many painters avoid introducing details of furniture, landscape or 'props'.

31) This is not of course a novel view; cf., e.g., A.J.A. Waldock, *Sophocles the dramatist*, 1951, 88-90; G.M. Kirkwood, *A study of Sophoclean drama*, 1958, 278.

32) 'Ambiguity in the Exodos of Sophocles' *Trachiniai*,' *Arethusa* 10 (1977) 272 f.

33) Segal, *Y.C.S.* 25 (1977) 151-55, has a good discussion of this scene.

34) Cf. Hdt. 9.26.4 ff.; Thuc. 1.9.

35) There is no need to change ἐφορᾶ, despite ἐφορῶσι at 1269. For close repetition with a slight shift in sense cf. 965-67 (βάσις).

36) Hoey, *Arethusa* 10 (1977) 277.

37) G.H. Gellie, *Sophocles: a reading*, 1972, 77 f.

38) Cf. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles*, 74.

39) Cf. Hoey, *op.cit.*, 288 f. for a recent presentation of the case.

40) 'Some suggestions for staging the *Trachiniai*,' *Arion* n.s. 3 (1976) 65.

41) N.C. Hourmouziades, 'Μορφὲς σιωπῆς καὶ προβλήματα λόγου,' *Hellenika* 21 (1968) 281.

42) *Sophocles*, 74, n.4.

43) 'Vocative singular addressing the chorus in Greek drama,' *Arctos* n.s. 6 (1969-1970) 147-60.

44) R.D. Dawe, *Studies on the text of Sophocles*, III, 1978, 98.

45) An earlier version of this paper was read to the Oxford Philological Society in June 1979; I am grateful for their comments and criticisms, and in particular to Mr. T.C.W. Stinton, who continued the debate by correspondence.

EIN NEUES SOPHOKLESFRAGMENT BEI EUSTATHIOS?

STEFAN L. RADT

Alexandro Turnyn tragicorum Graecorum memoriae investigatori admirabili

In seinem Kommentar zu Hom. K 573 (αύτοὶ δέ οὐδεὶς πολλὸν ἀπονίζοντο θαλάσση / ἐοθάνατες κνήμας τε οὐδὲ λόφον ἀμφέ τε μηρούς) sagt Eustathios (IL. 824,31 = 3,130,9 v.d. Valk¹⁾) λόφος δέ οὐταῦθα δέ ἄνω τένων ήτοι δέ περι τράχηλον. Θεν καὶ τὸ καταλόφαδια ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ (κ 169) καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ ὑπὸ ζυγῷ νῶτον εὐλόφως φέρειν', ὡς λόφου ἐν τοῖς ζῷοις δοῦτος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν τράχηλον μέρους, φέπικεῖται δέ ζυγός. Die erste Hälfte dieser Bemerkung (bis zu dem Odysseezitat) stammt deutlich aus dem von Eustathios in der Fassung des 'Apion und Herodot' benutzten Viermännerkommentar (vgl. Σ A [3,116,15 ff. Erbse]), der Rest dagegen (von καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ an) ist anscheinend eine selbständige Zutat des Erzbischofs, die sich, wie man schon längst erkannt hat,²⁾ trotz den Abweichungen von dem dort überlieferten Text auf die *Antigone*-Stelle 289 ff. beziehen muss, wo Kreon sagt

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάλαι πόλεως
δινδρες μόλις φέροντες ἐρράθουν ἐμοὶ²⁾
κρυφῇ, κάρα σείοντες, οὐδέ τὸ ζυγῷ
λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ.

Dass Eustathios diese Stelle meint, zeigt sein Kommentar zu Hom. ε 285, wo es heisst (Od. 1536,47) τὸ κινῆσαι κάρη καὶ τὸ σεῖσαι κάρα διαφέροι ἄν, εἴ τι προσεκτέον τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν τῷ 'κάρα σείοντες οὐδέ τὸ ζυγῷ νῶτον εὐλόφως εἶχον': hier schreibt er Sophokles dieselbe Wortkombination τὸ ζυγῷ νῶτον εὐλόφως zu, aber diesmal in einem Kontext, der unmissverständlich aus der *Antigone*-Stelle stammt. Vgl. auch Od. 1653,4 λόφος δέ κυρίως ἐπὶ ἀλδγῶν ζέφων τὸ μετὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐνθα τοῖς ζευγνυμένοις ἐπιτίθεται δέ ζυγός. Θεν δέ τραγικὸς οἰδίπους φησὶ τῶν τινας πολιτῶν μὴ θέθειειν 'τὸ ζυγῷ νῶτον εὐλόφως φέρειν', ἦγουν

εύπειθῶς, wo Eustathios mit τῶν τινας πολιτῶν deutlich Sophokles' Worte πόλεως ἄνδρες paraphrasiert, aber das Zitat irrtümlich dem Oidipus in den Mund legt -- offenbar infolge einer Assoziation mit der berühmten Szene aus dem *O.T.*, in der Oidipus Umtriebe Kreons (!) gegen ihn zu wittern glaubt (besonders mit seiner δῆσις 380 ff.).³⁾ Der abweichende Text bei Eustathios hat manche Gelehrte dazu gebracht, anzunehmen, der Erzbischof habe den *Antigone*-Passus in einer von unseren Handschriften abweichenden Form gelesen.⁴⁾ Viel näher liegt es aber doch, mit Hermann, Wolff, Jebb und vielen anderen, einen Irrtum des Eustathios anzunehmen.

Dass Eustathios oft ungenau zitiert, ist bekannt,⁵⁾ und v.d. Valk (1, LVII) hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass er "pertinaciter sententias, quas semel *impropri*e protulerat, eisdem verbis reddere consuevit" -- eine Eigenheit, die offenbar gerade mit seinem "staunenswerten Gedächtnis" (Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Berlin, 1950, 1) zusammenhängt: wenn sich in diesem Gedächtnis einmal etwas in falscher Form festgesetzt hatte, reproduzierte er es auch immer weiter in dieser Form. Ganz bezeichnend für diesen Mechanismus ist ein Fall, auf den v.d. Valk a.a.O. hinweist. Zu Ψ 598 f. ιάνθη ὡς εἴ τε περὶ σταχύεσσιν ἔρεσθ / ληῆον ἀλδῆσκοντος, θτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουρα bemerkte Eustathios (Il. 1318,34 f.) φρίσσουσι δὲ ἄρουραι, ὡς πρὸ τούτων ἀλλαχοῦ τὸ ληῆον. Nun hat Eustathios im vorhergehenden Teil seines Kommentars tatsächlich nicht nur an einer, sondern an mehreren Stellen den homerischen Ausdruck ληῆον φρίσσει ἀσταχύεσσι zitiert: Il. 473,1 (1,748,6 v.d. Valk) τὸ ληῆον ἀσταχύεσιν (sc. φρίσσει); 495,42 (1,785,15 v.d. Valk) δημοιοῦται (sc. der Ausdruck δέει δέ αἴματι γαῖα [Δ 451]) καὶ πρὸς τὸ κινεῖσθαι τὸ ληῆον ἀσταχύεσσι καὶ φρίσσειν τὴν μάχην δράσι (d.h. N 339: vgl. weiter unten); 664,60 (2,399,20 v.d.V.) ὄσπερ τὸ ληῆον φρίσσει ἀσταχύεσσι; 1241,30 ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα ὅμοιον τῷ 'ἔφριξε μάχη ἐγχείησι' (N 339); 1271,27 φ λόγῳ καὶ μάχῃ φρίσσει ἐγχείαις (N 339) καὶ ληῆον ἀσταχύεσσι. Bei Homer dagegen ist dieser Ausdruck nirgends zu finden: es ist klar, wie v.d. Valk gesehen hat, dass Eustathios an all diesen Stellen eben die Iliasverse Ψ 598 f. meint: sie hatten sich seinem Gedächtnis offenbar so fest in falscher Form eingeprägt, dass er seinen Fehler nicht einmal merkte! Aehnlich ist der ebenfalls

von v.d. Valk angeführte Fall, wo Eustathios dreimal (Il. 420, 9 [1,659,14 f. v.d.V.]; 556,16 [2,90,8]; 1336,24) als Beispiel für das Zeugma den Ausdruck σῖτον καὶ οἶνον ἔδοντες (σῖτον ἔδοντες καὶ οἶνον, 556,16) zitiert. Auch dieser Ausdruck ist weder bei Homer noch anderswo zu finden: er ist offenbar, mit v.d. Valk, auf eine falsche Interpretation des Odysseeverses π 110 καὶ οἶνον διαφυσσόμενον καὶ σῖτον ἔδοντας zurückzuführen -- eines Verses, den Eustathios in seinem Kommentar zur Stelle (Od. 1795,49 ff.) vollkommen richtig interpretiert!

Ebenso werden auch die vier unverkennbar an *Antigone* 289 ff. anklingenden Zitate auf einem fest in Eustathios' Gedächtnis haftenden Irrtum beruhen. Nun hat neuerdings Colonna (*Sileno* 2, 1976, 75 f.) die Vermutung geäussert, Eustathios habe die *Antigone*-Stelle mit einem uns sonst nicht bekannten Sophokles-vers $\bar{\nu}\pi\delta\zeta\gamma\varphi\langle\tau\delta\rangle$ $\nu\tilde{\omega}tov\epsilon\bar{\nu}\lambda\bar{\delta}\varphi\omega\varsigma\varphi\acute{\epsilon}re\iota\nu$ kontaminiert, den er seinem Homerkommentar entnommen hätte. Aber abgesehen davon, dass der von Colonna hinzugefügte Artikel auf jeden Fall ganz und gar stilwidrig wäre, liegt es viel näher anzunehmen, dass Eustathios die *Antigone*-Stelle mit der Wendung $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\lambda\bar{\delta}\varphi\omega\varsigma\varphi\acute{\epsilon}re\iota\nu$ kontaminiert und infolge dieser Kontamination Sophokles' $\lambda\bar{\delta}\varphi\omega\varsigma$ durch $\nu\tilde{\omega}tov$ ersetzt hat. Das konnte ihm um so leichter passieren, da bei Lykophron, den er aus eigener Lektüre sehr gut kannte (siehe v.d. Valk 1, LXXXV [§ 89]; 2, XLVI Anm.1), der Ausdruck $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\lambda\bar{\delta}\varphi\omega\varsigma$ $\nu\tilde{\omega}t\varphi\varphi\acute{\epsilon}re\iota\nu$ vorkommt (776). Dass der Lykophron-Vers hier mitgespielt hat, wie bereits Jebb zu der *Antigone*-Stelle vermutete, wird noch wahrscheinlicher durch *Il.* 1313,31, wo Eustathios Sophokles gerade den Ausdruck $\nu\tilde{\omega}tov\epsilon\bar{\nu}\lambda\bar{\delta}\varphi\omega\varsigma$ zuschreibt (siehe Anm. 3).

Die Wendung εύλόγως φέρειν ist uns ausser den genannten Eustathios-Stellen noch zweimal überliefert: 1. Σ Soph. *Ai.* 61a (p.30 Christodoulou) zu ἐλάχθοσιν : ἐπαύσατο. (ἢ μεταφορῇ add. FNH) ὅπο τῶν ὑποζυγίων (...), δθεν καὶ τὸ εύλόγως φέρειν. Das Scholion findet sich auch als Erklärung zu dem Lemma ἐλάχθοσιν in der *Suda* (ε 910 Adler), wo unsere Handschriften jedoch εύλόγιας (—νν T) statt εύλόγως haben. - 2. Damasc. *Vita Isid.* (p.260 Zintzen) ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 242,190 p.347 b 5 Bekker (6,41,5 Henry) ἄλλ' ὅμις οἱ φιλόσαροι καρτερεῖν φοντο δεῖν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα φέρειν εύλόγως (—φρόνως A² teste Henry, —φρόνως B teste Bekker).

Ausserdem durfte man es bis vor kurzem für so gut wie sicher halten, dass die Wendung in dem von Stobaios 4,44,13 (5,961,12 Hense) aus Euripides' *Antigone* zitierten Vers (fr.175,1 N.²) vorkam, der in unseren Hss. lautet **ὅτις δὲ πρὸς τὸ πῦπτον εὐλόγως φέρει / τὸν δαίμονα**, und wo Abresch (testa Nauck) und Brunck (*Sophoclis quae exstant omnia*, 2, Argentorati, 1786, 188 [Seitenzählung des zweiten Teils] zu *Phil.* 872) mit **εὐλόγως** das Richtige getroffen zu haben schienen (vgl. die gleiche Korruptel in der *Suda*-Glosse ε 910, oben, worauf schon Nauck [*De trag. Gr. fragmentis*, 39, siehe Anm.4] hinwies). Doch jetzt bietet P. Oxy. 3317,14: **ὅτις δὲ πρὸς τὸ πῦπτον εὐδόγως φέρει**. Indessen ist -- wie auch der Herausgeber des Papyrus D. Hughes zugibt (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XLVII, London, 1980, 6 f.) -- Zweifel an der Identifizierung von P.Oxy. 3317,14 mit Eurip.fr. 175 möglich; und auch wenn sie richtig sein sollte, lässt sich nicht ausschliessen, dass es hier neben **εὐδόγως** eine Variante **εὐλόγως** gab.

Da sich bei Eustathios keinerlei Indizien dafür finden, dass er Stobaios (den er ja obendrein noch in einer besseren Hs. gelesen haben müsste als wir) und Photios' *Bibliothek* bzw. Damaskios gekannt hat,⁶⁾ ist es am wahrscheinlichsten, dass er die Wendung **εὐλόγως φέρειν** aus den Sophoklesscholien in Erinnerung hatte. Dass er die Sophoklesscholien kannte, geht aus mehreren Stellen seines Homerkommentars hervor: siehe Cohn, RE s.v. Eustathios, 1481,50 ff., und vor allem v.d. Valk 1, LXXXVII Anm.5; wenn Od. 1969,18 die Lesart **καοῶν** in Soph. El. 608 Eustathios' eigene Konjektur ist (vgl. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, Urbana, 1952, 155 f.; anders Colonna, B.P.E.C. N.S. 20, 1972, 32; Dawe, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles* 1, Leiden, 1973, 105; 182), beruht sie offenbar auf dem Scholion zur Stelle (130,20 Papageorg.) **εἰ γέγονα τούτοις τοῖς καοῖς ἐνοχος**. Und die Herkunft der Wendung aus den Sophoklesscholien konnte ihre Assoziation mit Sophokles noch begünstigen. Eine andere Möglichkeit, die sich nicht ausschliessen lässt, wäre, dass Eustathios die Wendung aus der *Suda* kannte, die er ebenfalls benutzt hat (siehe Cohn, a.a.O. 1481,58 ff.; v.d. Valk 1, LXVI f.; 2, XLII). Man müsste dann allerdings annehmen, dass die *Suda* ihm in einer besseren Hs. vorlag als uns; aber das ist eine Annahme, zu der wir vielleicht ohnehin gezwungen sind: Wilamowitz wenigstens (*Hellenistische Dichtung* 1, Berlin, 1924, 84 Anm.1) sah keine andere Möglichkeit, die Tatsache zu erklären, dass Eustathios (IL.327,11) einen Poseidonhymnus der Dichterin Moiro erwähnt, den der uns erhaltene *Suda*-Artikel (μ 1469 Adler) nicht nennt.

Dass die vier Zitate bei Eustathios sich aus einer Kontamination von Soph. *Ant.* 291 f. mit der Wendung εύλόφως φέρειν erklären, hat im Grunde schon Gottfried Hermann erkannt (in seiner Anmerkung zu *Ant.* 291 [*Sophoclis tragoediae...rec.C.G.A.* Erfurdt. Ed. secunda, 1: *Antigona*, Lipsiae, 1823, 62]). Doch dachte Hermann, Eustathios habe die *Antigone*-Stelle zusammen mit einer anderen Stelle, an der die in den Sophoklesscholien erwähnte Wendung εύλόφως φέρειν vorkam, in einem Lexikon zitiert gefunden, dessen Text hier verstümmelt gewesen sei. Unsere Untersuchung hat jedoch gezeigt, dass wir für die Erklärung dieser Kontamination gar keine hypothetischen Faktoren einzuführen brauchen: die vier Stellen bei Eustathios lassen sich ohne weiteres aus der in seinem Gedächtnis vollzogenen Kontamination von Texten erklären, die ihm nachweislich bekannt waren: Sophokles' *Antigone*, den Scholien zu Sophokles (oder der *Suda*) und Lykophron.⁷⁾ Demgegenüber ist Colonnas Hypothese (Kontamination der *Antigone*-Stelle mit einem sonst unbekannten Sophoklesvers) kaum wahrscheinlich (deshalb⁸⁾ ist sie auch in *TrGF* vol. 4 unerwähnt geblieben).

EXKURS: KANNTE EUSTATHIOS DIE TROERINNEN DES EURIPIDES?

Wenn sich nachweisen liesse, dass Eustathios Euripides' *Troerinnen* gelesen hat, wäre das eine Stütze für die oben (Anm. 7) vorgebrachte Vermutung, dass bei Eustathios' Fehlzitat von Soph. *Ant.* 291 f. auch eine Reminiszenz an den Ausdruck δυσλόφως φέρει bei Eur. *Tro.* 303 mitgespielt haben könnte. Nun hat H.W. Miller in seinem Aufsatz 'Euripides and Eustathios' (A.J.Ph. 61, 1940, 422 ff.) alle Stellen verzeichnet, an denen Eustathios sich auf Euripides bezieht. In diesem Verzeichnis -- aus dem hervorgeht, dass *Phoen.*, *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Med.* und *Hipp.* die euripidischen Dramen sind, die Eustathios weitaus am meisten zitiert, die ihm also besonders geläufig waren -- führt Miller (425) auch zwei Stellen auf, die er auf die *Troerinnen* bezieht:⁹⁾

1. *Il.* 975,30 = 3,605,29 v.d. Valk. Aber diese Stelle hat mit den *Troerinnen* nichts zu tun. Eustathios macht dort darauf aufmerksam: ὡς ἐν οὕτῳ περιέργῳ καλλωπισμῷ (Ε 170 ff.) οὐ κάτοπτρον δ ποιητής τῇ "Ηρα δίδωσιν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ταῖς Ταφάσιν, οὐ κομκωτρίας, ὡς Ἡσίοδος τῇ Πανδώρᾳ (Op. 72 ff.), οὐδὲ θεραπαινίας τινάς εἰσάγει καθά που τῇ Κύρη (κ 348 ff.). Die Euripidesstelle, die Eustathios hier meint, ist offenbar, wie auch

v.d. Valk gesehen hat, *Hec.* 923 ff. (eine Stelle, aus der er zweimal, *Il.* 454,16f. = 1,717,28f. u.690,41 = 2,496,13, wörtlich zitiert!): ἔγώ δὲ πλόκαμον ἀναδέτοις / μέτραισιν ἐρυθμιζόμαν / χρυσέων ἐνόπτηρων λεύσσαις' ἀτέρμονας εἰς αὐγάς. Daneben konnte Eustathios eventuell auch an *Or.* 1112f. denken, wo verstanden wird, dass die trojanischen Frauen Spiegel gebrauchen. Ausgeschlossen ist dagegen eine Beziehung auf *Tro.* 1107ff. (die einzige Stelle, die in Frage käme), wo der Chor sich ausmalt, wie auf dem Schiff, das sie nach Griechenland bringen wird, Helena mit einem goldenen Spiegel in der Hand dasitzt: dadurch unterscheidet sich Helena ja gerade von den gefangenen Troerinnen, denen in ihrem Elend nichts mehr an ihrer äusseren Erscheinung liegt (vgl. K.H. Lee, *Euripides Troades*, London, 1976, 253).

2. *Il.* 1242,43 ὡς δὲ καὶ δαλὸς ἀνημένος μάχης ἦν σύμβολον, Εὔριπίδης δηλοῖ, was Miller auf *Tro.* 1257ff. τίνας 'Ιλιάσιν ταῖς' ἐν κορυφαῖς / λεύσσαν φλογέας δαλοῖσι χέρας/διερέσσοντας; bezieht. Aber dort sind die Fackeln (man beachte auch den Plural) nicht 'Zeichen des Kampfes', sondern das tatsächliche Instrument für die Einäscherung der Stadt, die den Kampf bereits hinter sich hat. Eher könnte man an *Tro.* 922 denken, wo Paris, mit einer Anspielung auf Hekabes Traum von seiner Geburt, δαλοῦ πικρὸν μέμημα genannt wird. Doch macht mich v.d. Valk darauf aufmerksam, dass Eustathios' Bemerkung sich am besten auf *Phoen.* 1377f. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφείθη πυροῦς, ὡς Τυρονικῆς / σάλπιγγος ἦκη, σῆμα φοινίου μάχης beziehen lässt. Dort ist natürlich (pace Pearson) mit Musgrave (*Euripidis quae exstant..*1, Oxonii, 1778, 187; 413) πυροῦς ὡς zu lesen (vgl. Kamerbeek zu Soph. *O.R.* 186; Groeneboom zu *Pers.* 395); aber Eustathios hat offensichtlich, wie ja auch kaum anders zu erwarten, die Deutung der Scholien (1,388,10ff. Schwartz) übernommen, nach der ὡς mit dem Folgenden zu verbinden wäre. Gegen diese Beziehung könnte sprechen, dass weder dort noch in den Scholien δαλὸς vorkommt;¹⁰ dafür spricht jedoch nicht nur die Tatsache, dass an dieser Stelle ausdrücklich von μάχῃ die Rede ist (und σῆμα μάχης genau Eustathios' Worten μάχης σύμβολον entspricht), sondern vor allem, dass Eustathios seine Bemerkung anlässlich von Φ 388 im Rahmen einer Besprechung des homerischen Gebrauchs von σάλπιγξ macht (sollte in seiner Version des Viermännerkommentars ein Hinweis auf die *Phoenissen*-Stelle gestanden haben?).

Da es also offenbar keinen unzweifelhaften Beleg dafür gibt, dass Eustathios die Troerinnen kannte (vgl. auch v.d. Valk 1,LXXXVII Anm.4), bleibt die in Anm.7 geäußerte Vermutung ganz unsicher.

ANMERKUNGEN

1) 'v.d. Valk' = *Eustathii...commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem cod. Laurentiani editi*. Curavit M. van der Valk, Lugd. Batav., 1 (1971); 2 (1976); 3 (1979).

2) Auf jeden Fall, schon Brunck (zu *Ant.* 292, 1, p.221, Argentorati, 1786), nicht erst Hartung, wie Colonna (*Sileno* 2, 1976, 75) behauptet.

3) Eustathios bezieht sich noch ein viertes Mal auf die *Antigone*-Stelle, *Il.* 1313, 31 λάρος δὲ ἐπὶ τε βαῖν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων τόπος τοῦ τραχίλου, φέπιτιθεται δὲ ζυγός, ὃς καὶ ἐν δόλοις δηλοῦται. θεον καὶ ώτος εὐλάρος παρὰ Σαρωλεῖ δὲ εὔεικτος: hier hat er - offenbar, wie bereits Nauck (vgl. Anm. 4) und G. Wolff (vgl. Anm. 5) gesehen haben, unter dem Einfluss von Lykophron - das Adverb εὐλάρως durch das Adjektiv εὐλάρον ersetzt.

4) Hartung (*Sophocles' Werke*, 2, Leipzig, 1850, 50, vgl. 168 zu 291) vermutete οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ / ώτ' εὐλάρως ἔχοντες, ὃς στ. ἐμέ (Übernommen von Todt, *Philol.* 31, 1872, 208 ff.; G. Müller, *Sophokles. Antigone*, Heidelberg, 1967, 76 f.), Nauck (*De tragicorum Graec. fragmentis observat. crit.*, *Jahresber. über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium*, Berlin, 1855, 38 f.; *Euripideische Studien* 2, *Mém. Acad. St. Pétersbourg*, VII^e sér., V.6, 1862, 154 f.) οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ / ώτον δικαλως εἶχον, εὐλάρως φέρειν.

5) Siehe v.d. Valk 1, LVI f. (§ 67) und 2, XXIII (§ 144). Ungenaue Sophokleszitate bei Eustathios hat G. Wolff in seinem kritischen Anhang zu *Ant.* 292 zusammengestellt (*Sophokles* 3, 6. Auflage, Leipzig, 1900, 159 f.).

6) Ich danke Dr. van der Valk auch für diese Auskunft. Damit wird Wolffs Erklärung hinfällig: Eustathios hätte *Ant.* 291 f. mit *Eur. fr.* 175 kontaminiert.

7) Daneben könnte vielleicht auch eine Erinnerung an *Tro.* 302 f. κάρτα τοι τούλεύθερον / ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δυσλάρως φέρει κανά mitgespielt haben: vgl. den Exkurs. Uebrigens hält v.d. Valk (brieflich) es nicht für ausgeschlossen, dass es sich lediglich um eine Kontamination der *Antigone*- mit der Lykophron-Stelle handelt.

8) Und nicht, wie Colonna (*Paideia* 33, 1978, 102) annimmt, weil seine Hypothese mir unbekannt gewesen wäre.

9) Miller (423) nennt noch eine dritte Stelle: *Il.* 757, 44 f. = 2,735, 9 f., wo aus den *Troerimen* die Verse 1176 f. wörtlich zitiert werden. Aber der Autor, der dort Euripides zitiert, ist nicht Eustathios, sondern Apollodor von Athen (244 F 246 Jacoby), dessen Ausführungen Eustathios aus der *Athenaios-Epitome* (2,65 F - 66 B) übernommen hat. Die Stelle zeigt also, dass Eustathios die *Athenaios-Epitome*, nicht dass er die *Troerimen* gelesen hat!

10) Diesen Einwand macht man unwillkürlich, wenn man vom klassischen Griechisch herausgeht, wo δαλός ein poetisches Wort ist. Doch hat es offenbar schon früh seinen poetischen Charakter verloren: vgl. bereits Arist. *Meteor.* 344 a 26; *Probl.* 884 b 18. Das fatale Holzscheit der Meleagersage heißt auch bei den Schriftstellern, die ihrem Stil keinen poetischen Anstrich geben wollen, δαλός: Diodor. 4,34,6; Apollodor. *Bibl.* 1,65.71 Wagner; Paus. 10,31,4 (ebenso bei Eust. *Il.* 774,32.35 = 2,802,13.17; die D-Scholien dagegen reden von δάκη, 1,329,10 Dindorf); und der unpretentiose Appian gebraucht *Bell. C.* 2,129 (2,267,7 Mendelssohn-Viereck) den Ausdruck δαλὸν ἔξαλπας metaphorisch von Antonius, der die Leidenschaften der Senatoren entfacht hat. Dergleichen ist es fraglich, ob das Wort bei stilistisch anspruchsvoller Autoren (wie Dio Chrys. 67,7 u. Philostr. *Epist.* 4:2,226,4 Kayser²⁾ ein gesuchter Ausdruck ist und ob Lukian es tatsächlich (wie Schmid, *Der Attizismus* 1, Stuttgart, 1887, 325 meint) aus der Dichtersprache übernommen hat. Den Byzantinern scheint δαλός ganz geläufig gewesen zu sein: vgl. z.B. Niceph. Basil. *Progymn.* 7,5 (1,477,5 Walz) δὲ δὲ (sc. der in Danae verliebte Zeus) ὃς δαλός ἐπιτύροῦται; Theod. *Stud. Iamb.* 14,7 Speck ἐωθεν εὐθὺς κλῶν (sc. der Koch) δαλούς; Anna Comn. *Alex.* 13,3,12 (3,99,18 Leib) τούτοις ἐπενήνετο πῦρ, δαλοί καὶ φλόγες (den Hinweis auf die letzte Stelle verdanke ich W.J. Aerts).

ON THE ALCESTIS AND ANDROMACHE OF EURIPIDES

JAMES DIGGLE

Alcestis 122-26 ¹⁾	μόνος δ' ἄν, εἰ φῶς τόδ' ήν δημασιν δεδορκώς Φοίβου παῖς, προλιποῦσ' ἥλθεν ἔδρας σκοτίους	125
124 προλιπῶν BO	"Αιδα τε πύλας.	125 σκοτίας V

124 προλεπών βο 125 σκοτίας γ

If we ignore μόνος, the sense is 'If the son of Phoebus (Asclepius) were alive, she (Alcestis) would have been restored to life.' Commentators explain μόνος by pleading anacoluthon: the speaker begins as if he intended to say 'he alone would have brought her back from Hades' and ends by saying not 'would have brought her back' but 'she would have come back.' This is anacoluthon of a violent and unpalatable kind, for which commentators have produced no analogy. Indeed Hayley found it so 'incredible' that he was driven to say that 'The thought is clear... but... expressed a trifle loosely: "if the son of Phoebus, and he alone, were now alive, Alcestis would return to the upper world",' which is nonsensical.

'Dedi μούνως, pro μόνος, ob strophēn et sensum postulantes,' wrote Wakefield. Response does not require a long syllable, μοῦνος is not a Euripidean form, and μόνως and μούνως are not adverbs used by the tragic poets. Hermann's²⁾ μόνον is no better, for an adverb scarcely suits the sense of the passage. Read μόνα: 'She would have been uniquely privileged to come back from Hades.' This is rhetorical exaggeration (for, as the chorus go on to say in 127 ff., Asclepius was in the habit of bringing the dead back to life); but the exaggeration is much the same as in S. OT 298 f. τὸν θεῖον ἥδη μάντιν ὅδ' ἄγουσιν, οὐ / τάληθὲς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων μόνωι ('above all other men'

Jebb, who compares *OC* 261); *Ant.* 821 f. αύτόνομος ζῶσα μόνη δὴ / θνητῶν Ἀίδην καταβήσοι; E. *Phaeth.* 242-44 μόνος ἀθανάτων / γαμβρὸς δι' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν / θνατὸς ὑμνήσοι; *Theoc.* 18.18 μῶνος ἐν ἡμιθέσιοις Κρονίδαν δία πενθερὸν ἔξεῖς. For an analogous use of μόνος see Barrett on *Hi.* 1282. Observe how often the adjective μόνη is attached to *Alcestis*: 180 (hardly to be changed to μόνον), 368, 434, 460, 825.

In 125 Monk's ἤλθ' ἀν for ἤλθεν should be accepted.³⁾ There is no justification for the prejudice which editors show against elision of aorist -ε before ἀν: see *PCPS* n.s. 20 (1974) 16 n.5 and *Studies* 100. Indeed, there is another passage in this play where we should possibly restore the same elision: 360-62 ...κατῆλθον ἀν, καὶ μ' οὗθ' δὲ πλούτωνος κύων / οὗθ' οὐποι κώπηι ψυχοπομπὸς ἀν χάρων / ἔσχον (ἔσχ' ἀν Lenting), ποιν ἐς φῶς σὸν καταστῆσαι βίον. In support of ἔσχον Dale repeats Porson's comment on *Hec.* 86 [88]: 'Recte... infertur *verbum plurale*, sive *duo singularia nomina conjunguntur sive disiunguntur*' (he quotes this passage in illustration). The passage of *Hecuba* reads as follows: 87-89 ποῦ ποτε θείαν Ἐλένου ψυχάν / ἦ (V et G²: καὶ cett.) Κασσάνδραν ἔσίδω, Τρωιάδες, / ὡς μοι κρίνωσιν ὄνειρους; If ἦ is right, we should hearken to Matthiae, who offers a helpful modification to Porson's statement:

'falsissimum est, plurale *verbum sequi posse*, ubi duo nomina singularia vere disiunguntur... et ineptissimum sit, qui dicere velit, *honesta mors, aut turpissima servitus subeundae sunt*. Sed saepenumero duo nomina singularia particula ἦ ita coniunguntur, ut significetur non alterutri actionem tribui, sed utrumque facere aliquid posse, ut h.l. non hoc dicit *Hecuba*, aut *Helenum*, omissa *Cassandra*, aut *Casandram*, spreto *Heleno*, somnia interpretaturam esse, sed velle se sive uni, sive alteri, sive utriusque hoc committere.'

Those who accept ἦ (and Matthiae's explanation) are entitled to accept ἔσχον at *Alc.* 362. But ἦ is very poorly attested, and I see no good reason to prefer it in place of καὶ. And if καὶ is accepted, we must ask whether any other parallels exist for the use of a plural verb in a disjunction. Only two are offered from classical Greek by Kühner-Gerth I.81, whose explanation for the plural is that in such cases the subjects are treated as a unity ('als eine Vielheit'). The two passages are: (I) *Isae.* 5.5 εἰ... περὶ τούτων ἔμελλον ἀπολογήσεσθαι μόνον Δεωχάρος ἦ Δικαιογένης, where Dobree proposed καὶ for ἦ, and this is accepted by Wyse, who gives plentiful illustration of the confusion

of these two words;⁴⁾ (II) Dem. 27.12 & μὲν οὖν Δημοφῶν ή Θηριππεῖδος ἔχουσι τῶν ἔμῶν (καὶ for ή F). The alleged parallels, then, are far from certain parallels. Even if they were certain and Kühner-Gerth's explanation were to be accepted, we should still be entitled to ask whether the same explanation is applicable to *Alc.* 362. Such an explanation is, in fact, offered by Paley, who claims that 'the plural is used, because the idea is, "both Charon and Cerberus together would have been unable to stop me".' But, while it is true that Charon and Cerberus, as two horrors of the underworld, make a natural pair, the form of the disjunction ('neither Charon nor Cerberus would have...' invites us to treat them as two separate barriers and not as the unified barrier implied by Paley's paraphrase. As a parallel for the plural Paley quotes *A. Su.* 727 f. οὐσις γάρ ἀν (Burges : ή M) κῆρούς τις ή πρέσβυς (Turnebus : πρέσβη M) μόλοι / ἄγειν θέλοντες. But it is not at all certain that Turnebus' conjecture is right. - In *Alc.* 362 Earle proposed ἔσχεν, and so did Blaydes (*Adversaria critica in Euripidem* [1901] 90), and the same conjecture is ascribed by Wecklein to Lenting. Lenting in fact proposed ἔσχ' ἄν,⁵⁾ and I think that this may well be right.

Alc. 218-20 δεινὰ μέν, φίλοι, δεινά γ', ἀλλ' ὅμως
θεοῖσιν εύχώμεσθα. θεῶν
γάρ δύναμις μεγίστα.
~ 230-32 τὰν γάρ οὐ φίλαν ἀλλὰ φιλτάταν
γυναῖκα κατθανοῦσαν ἐν
ἄματι τῶιδ' ἐπόψῃ.

218 δεινὰ... δεινά Diggle⁶⁾ : δῆλα... δῆλά codd. 219 εύχώμεσθα
B et Tr(iclinius) : εύχώμεθα OL : ἔχώμεθα V : εύχόμεθα P
220 δύναμις V : à δ- BOLP

219 ~ 231 give the following responsion: - - - / ɔ - ɔ ɔ.
That 219-20 ~ 231-32 are in synapheia is proved by the postpositive γάρ at the beginning of 220 and the prepositive ἐν at the end of 231. But ἐν gives *brevis in longo*, and this is incompatible with synapheia. Therefore there is a fault either in the text or in the colometry.⁷⁾

A long syllable in place of ἐν would cure this fault. But neither Musgrave's ἐν (γ') nor Dindorf's είν has any appeal:

the former because γ' (which Weber calls a 'glückliche Ergänzung') is meaningless, the latter because the credibility of the epic εἰν in tragedy is slight. It is transmitted at A. *Su.* 871 as part of an uncured corruption, and by some mss. at S. *Ant.* 1241 εἰν Ἀιδού δόμοις (εἰν KAUYT : ἐν cett.), where Heath's ἐν γ', accepted by Jebb and Dawe, is perfectly apt. The sole plausible instance is *Alc.* 436 χαῖρουσά μοι εἰν Ἀίδα δόμοισιν (εἰν BOV : ἐν LP; Ἀίδα Lascaris : ἀίδ* L : ἀδα P : ἀίδαο BOV; δόμοισιν Lascaris : δόμοις codd. : -οισι Tr), which is reminiscent of *Iliad* 23.179 χαῖρέ μοι, ἦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀίδαο δόμοισι. The reminiscence would be even closer if we accepted the reading of the majority of the mss. εἰν Ἀίδαο δόμοις. But this would entail the scansion of ὄρεῖαν in the antistrophe at 446 as an anapaest. Such a scansion is commonly assumed at *Hi.* 1127 ὅ δρυμὸς ὄρειος, ὅσι κυνῶν, where Wilamowitz actually spelled the adjective ὄρεος, comparing τέλεος, which exists alongside τέλειος (see Barrett ad loc.). But I propose that we take ὄρεος not as an adjective but as a genitive, which gives an expression (δρυμὸς ὄρεος) like *Andr.* 849 ὅλαν ὄρέων. I am less troubled than is Dale by the 'singular redundancy of expression' in 'Ἀίδα δόμοισιν / τὸν ἀνάλιον οἴκον and see no likelihood in her belief that the words εἰν Ἀίδαο δόμοις are 'due to a parallel quotation in the margin,' although the same suspicion was felt by Hermann, who suggested κευθῶσιν (~ 446 οὔρεῖαν), and by J. Schumacher, who replaced the whole phrase by ἐν χθονίοις μυχοῖσι. ⁸⁾ The epic εἰν is probably right, and it is justified by the Homeric reminiscence. And yet we could replace it by ἐν γ' (as in S. *Ant.* 1241, cited above), another unpublished proposal by Hermann. ⁹⁾ Even if εἰν is right, it does not justify εἰν at 231.

Dale reports a conjecture of P. Maas, ἐν τραῦματι. This entails a very doubtful crasis. Crasis of τῷ and short alpha is attested once in Euripides, in τάγαθῷ at *Hi.* 637, a line which as it happens is spurious (see Barrett), and several times in Sophocles, but always in the words τάνδροι (*Ai.* 78; *Tr.* 60, 603, 748, 1175). I know of no instance of the crasis of τῷ and a long alpha, let alone a Doric alpha (i.e. η).

If then the text brooks no change, what of the colometry? O. Schroeder, *Euripidis cantica* (1910) 5, divided θεοῖσιν εύχώμεσθα.

/ θεῶν κτλ. ~ γυναικα κατθανοῦσαν / ἐν κτλ. (· - - - / ˘ - ˘), and the same division (with a different metrical interpretation) was proposed by Wilamowitz in the notes to his verse translation.¹⁰⁾ Rhetorical pause now coincides with the *brevis in longo*. A colon of the length ˘ - ˘ - - - (as now in 220 ~ 232) follows an iambic colon ending in a bacchius at *Med.* 848 f. ~ 858 f.; *Held.* 892 f. ~ 901 f.; *Ion* 190 f. ~ 201 f. And the second of these passages exemplifies the *brevis in longo*: ἐμοὶ χορὸς μὲν ἡδύς, εἰ λίγεια / λωτοῦ χάρις +ενι δαι+ ~ ἔχεις δδόν τιν', ὃ πόλις, δίκαιον. / οὐ χρή ποτε τοῦδ' ἀφέσθαι (Herwerden: ἀφελέσθαι L), where the division which I have given is preferable to that of Murray, who prints the first line as a full trimeter (λίγεια λω- / τοῦ - δίκαιον. οὐ / χρή), against the natural rhetorical division of the words. In any case, *brevis in longo* is very common in final bacchiacs: *Hec.* 1094; *El.* 1207; *Herc.* 1025; 1036; *Tr.* 1235; 1296; *Hel.* 1113; *Ph.* 312; 1518; 1532; *Or.* 167 ~ 188; *IA* 1480; *fr.* 53.1.

Against Schroeder's colometry Dale (on 232) has raised this objection: 'I can find no parallel for a catalectic iambic dimeter with a long antepenultimate (· - - - ˘ - -).' And in *The lyric metres of Greek drama* (2nd ed., 1968) 101 f., she observes that a molossus is found in responcion with a bacchius only at the opening of a colon, never at the end. One might adduce, against the former objection, these three Sophoclean passages: *El.* 514 ἔλειπεν ἐκ τοῦδ' οἴκους (so Dawe prints;¹¹⁾ most editors prefer the variant ἔλιπεν); *Phil.* 833 ὡ τεκνὸν ὅρα / ποῦ στᾶσῃ ~ 849 ἄλλ' ὅτι δύναται μάκιστον (cf. Dale, *Lyric metres* 117 f.). But the latter objection, at least, appears justified. Here are the instances which I have found of the correspondence of molossus and bacchius in iambic cola: *Su.* 622 ~ 630 ˘ - - / - - - / ˘ - - / - - -; *Ion* 190 ~ 201 ˘ - - / - - -; *Ph.* 1026 ~ 1050 ˘ - - / - - -; *S. El.* 485 ~ 501 ˘ - - / - - -; *Phil.* 1134 ~ 1157 ˘ - - / - - -; *OC* 513 ~ 524 ˘ - - -; 1670 ~ 1697 ˘ - - / - - - / - - - . Whether this responcion exists in Aeschylus is doubtful: *Pe.* 281 ~ 287 ˘ - - / - - - (avoidable by scanning μεμν-, as advocated by Denniston and Page on *Ag.* 991); *Septem* 356 ~ 368 ˘ - - / - - - / - - - (but 356 is corrupt, and though a bacchius seems likely it is not inevitable);¹²⁾

Ag.977 ~ 990 - - - / - - - / - - . This last, where the irregular correspondence in the last metron would give the parallel which we are looking for, may be avoided by scanning υμν- (Denniston and Page) or by emendation (Fraenkel). The evidence suggests that Dale was right to regard the alleged correspondence of molossus and bacchius in the last metron of a dimeter at *Alc.* 219 ~ 231 as very implausible.¹³⁾

The best way out of dilemma may be to accept Schroeder's colometry but also to restore a bacchius by replacing εύχώμεσθα with εύξόμεσθα (Hayley): θεοῖσιν εύξόμεσθα. / θεῶν κτλ. ~ γυναῖκα κατθανοῦσαν / ἐν κτλ. As Hayley says, the subjunctive would be an easy error after the preceding subjunctives τέμω and ἀμφιβαλώμεθ' in 215-18 (and for εὔξ- corrupted to εύχ- see *Hi.116*). At first sight a subjunctive 'Let us pray' may seem more natural than a future; but I find nothing amiss in the sentence 'It is dreadful, my friends, dreadful indeed, but we shall pray to the gods.'¹⁴⁾ I am reminded of *Held.* 344 f. οὐν ἀν λίποιμι βωμόν. ἐξόμεσθα δὴ / ινέται μένοντες ἐνθάδ' εὖ πρᾶξαι πόλιν. Here we need either a subjunctive (ἐξώμεσθα Elmsley) or a future (εύξόμεσθα Cobet, with Kirchhoff's δὲ for δὴ).¹⁵⁾ I think that εύξόμεσθα gives a better balanced sentence.¹⁶⁾

Alc. 846-48 κανπερ λοχαίας αύτὸν ἐξ ἔδρας συθεὶς
μάρψω, κύκλον δὲ περιβάλω χεροῖν ἐμαῖν,
οὐκ ἔστιν δστις αύτὸν ἐξαιρήσεται...

847 δὲ] τε Nauck περιβάλω Monk : -βαλῶ LP : -βαλῶν BOV
et Tr et Σ^{bv}

'And if, darting out of ambush, I seize him and encircle him with my hands...'. With this text, as emended by Monk, Heracles appears to mean that he will first catch hold of his victim and then make his hold more secure by throwing his arms around him. It may be better to accept the well attested περιβαλῶν and change δὲ to γε (...μάρψω, κύκλον γε περιβαλῶν), thereby making Heracles catch his victim with a single action ('if I seize him, (by) encircling him with my hands').¹⁷⁾ For γε in an epexegetic participial clause see Denniston, *G.P.* 139 (ii). Let me add a further example by conjecture to his list.

Hec. 1175 f. τοιάδε σπεύδων χάριν / πέπονθα τὴν σὴν πολέμιον τε οὖν κτανών: 'This is what I have suffered for my efforts on your behalf and for having killed your enemy.' These efforts consisted in killing the enemy, and so the coordination of σπεύδων and κτανών is surprising. We can avoid that coordination by accepting L's τὸν for τε, and this was proposed by Nauck, apparently unaware of L's reading. But there is no other place in *Hecuba* where L alone preserves the truth.¹⁸⁾ Read therefore πολέμιον γε οὖν κτανών. The corruption and the epexegetic γε may be illustrated by another passage in *Hec.*: 611-615 ... ὡς παῖδα λουτροῖς τοῖς πανυστάτοις ἐμήν, / νύμφην τ' ἄνυψκον παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον, / λούσα προθάμαι θ'. ὡς μὲν ἀξία, πόθεν; / ούκ ἀν δυναίμην· ὡς δ' ἔχω (τί γάρ πάθω;) / ιδόμον τ' ἀγείρασ' αἰχμαλωτίδων πάρα κτλ. Here the τ' in 615 is taken as linking the two notions ὡς ἔχω and ιδόμον ἀγείρασα ('with my own resources, so far as they go, and with whatever contributions my fellow-captives may be able to make,' as Hadley paraphrases it). I find this forced and unnatural (though not so unnatural as Porson's plea that τ' links ἀγείρασ' to βάλσα in 610), and I prefer (like the most recent editor, S.G. Daitz) Wakefield's γ' ('by whatever means I can, by collecting garments').

Finally, as parallels for the corruption at *Alc.* 847 I cite *Held.* 794 μάλιστα, πράξας γ' (Elmsley : δ' L) ἐν θεῶν κάλλιστα δή. *Ba.* 816 σάφ' οἰσθι, σιγῆι γ' (Aldina : δ' L) ὑπ' ἐλάταις καθῆμενος. Denniston ought not to have created a special category for these two passages (G.P. 164 (3)), nor am I persuaded by the different explanation offered for *Ba.* 816 by Dodds. And instead of referring to 'the more normal epexegetic γε (see γε I.12.ii)' (i.e., p.139), Denniston ought to have referred to his list of passages on p.136, where γε 'adds detail to an assent already expressed,' where in fact he includes *Ba.* 816.

Andromache 120-25 ... εἴ τί σοι δυναίμαν 120
 ἄκος τῶν δυσλύτων πόνων τεμεῖν,
 οἴ σε καὶ Ἐρμιόναν ἔριδι στυγερᾶι συν-
 εκληισαν
 τλάμον' +άμφι λέκτρων
 διδύμων ἐπίκοινον ἑοῦσαν
 ἀμφὶ+ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως. 125

123 τλάμον' P : τλάμονα HMBAV : τλάμων L : τλάμον Aldina
 124 οὖσαν H

As Jackson says, 'Murray's obeli may be accepted without demur or demonstration' (*Marginalia scaenica* [1955] 29).¹⁹⁾ ἀμφὶ is

corrupt either in 123 or in 125. ἔοῦσαν, 'empty of content and neolithic in form,' is at least suspicious, though there are more instances of uncontracted verbal forms in tragedy than commentators imply: I listed most of them in *CR* n.s.18 (1968) 3 and I now add A. *Ag.*146 *καλέω*; *Ch.*828 *θροεούσαι*; [A.] *PV* 542 *τρομέων* (and perhaps we should include *μεδέων* *Hi.* 167; *Or.*1690; fr.912.1).

Jackson proposed ... τλάμον' (dual) ἀμφιλέκτωι, / διδύμων ἐπίκοινον εύνᾶν / ἀμφὶ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως, 'they have involved you and Hermione in an odious quarrel, causing dispute, about the son of Achilles, who shares promiscuously in two beds.' There are several weaknesses here: individually not decisive, in combination they put the conjecture out of court. (i) ἐπίκοινος with genitive is unexampled in classical Greek. The normal use ('common to more than one person') is illustrated by *Hdt.* 4.104 ἐπίκοινον δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μετέειν ποιεῦνται. 6.19 ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον. For the construction with the genitive the only passage which has been adduced (by L. Radermacher, *Charisteria A. Rzach* [1930] 153-55) is from *Vettius Valens* (saec. II A.D.).²⁰ (ii) The curtailment of ἔοῦσαν to εύνᾶν makes necessary the deletion of τι in the antistrophe at 133. There is no reason, beyond this metrical need, to suppose that τι is intrusive. (iii) ἔριδι... ἀμφὶ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως gives an unusual construction. Ἀμφὶ, in a context of dispute or rivalry, would normally be constructed with a genitive (as A. *Ag.*62 f. ἀμφὶ γυναικῶς...παλαίσματα, *LSJ*, s.v. A.I) or a dative (as *Hdt.* 6.129 ἔριν... ἀμφὶ μουσικῆι, *LSJ*, s.v. B.IV). (iv) ἀμφιλέκτωι, supported though it is by *Ph.*500 ἀμφίλεκτος... ἔρις, comes a little late and lamely in its clause. (v) ἀμφὶ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως, which coheres closely in sense with ἔριδι στυγερᾶι συνέκλησαν... ἀμφιλέκτωι, is placed uncomfortably late, after the appositional phrase διδύμων ἐπίκοινον εύνᾶν.

'The latter ἀμφὶ looks invulnerable,' said Jackson. No: I had found a replacement for it before I saw that the same word had occurred to Herwerden, *Mnemosyne* 31 (1903) 261, as part of a conjecture proposed without argument and overlooked by later editors. Replacing ἀμφὶ by ἄνδρα he wrote: ...τλάμον' ἀμφὶ λέκτρων / διδύμων ἐπίκοινον ἔχούσα / ἄνδρα, παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως, '...involved you and Hermione, poor women, in a quarrel

about two beds, having a husband in common, the son of Achilles.' For the expression ἄνδρα ἔχειν see *Alc.* 285; *El.* 1081; *Tr.* 673. But ἔχοντα entails hiatus and therefore cannot be right. The passages cited by Radermacher (who wished to accept Krause's ἔούσα) are of a different nature. There is no instance in Euripides of a prosodiac or enoplian (such as is 124) ending with hiatus when it is followed by an ithyphallic. We can easily avoid the hiatus by writing ἔχοντας (Wecklein, with a different restoration of the surrounding words), and we can still keep τλάμον' as a dual, since juxtaposition of dual and plural forms is quite regular (see Kühner-Gerth I.70). But ἔχοντας entails correspondence of a long with a short at the end of the colon, and this would be no less anomalous, in this context, than hiatus, as I must now show.

The colon διεδύμων ἐπίκοινον ἔονταν ~ τὸ κρατοῦν δέ σ' ἔπεισοι· τί μόχθον (.....) is, in the terminology of Dale, *Lyric metres* 175, an 'enoplian paroemiac,' and such a colon is 'quite distinct from the catalectic anapaestic dimeter, where a shortening of the final syllable indicates pause. The final syllable here is in fact a true *anceps*.' I wish to argue, further, that whenever an enoplian paroemiac occurs in a context like ours (followed by an ithyphallic or comparable colon) the *anceps* may be expected to be short.

First I list the instances which I have found of an enoplian or prosodiac (of whatever length) ending with final short and followed by an ithyphallic: + ithyphallic *Med.* 645 f. τὸν διηχανίας ἔχοντα / δυσπέρατον αἰῶν' ~ 655 f. σὲ γάρ οὐ πόλεις οὐ φίλων τις / ὀικτισεν παθοῦσαν. *Hi.* 755 f. ἐπέρευνας ἐμάντινασσαν / ὀλβίων ἀπ' οἴκων ~ 767 f. χαλεπῶι δ' ὑπέραντλος οὖσα / συμφορῶι τεράμνων. (ii) + ithyphallic: *Med.* 990 f. σὺ δ' ὁ τάλαιν ὁ κακόνυμφε / κηδεμῶν τυράννων ~ 996 f. μεταστένομαι δὲ σὸν ὅλγος, / ὁ τάλαινα παίδων. *IT* 402 f. ἔβασαν ἔβασαν ὅμεικτον / αἰλαν ἔνθα κούραι ~ 417 f. πλάνητες ἐπ' οἴδμα πόλεις τε / βαρβάρους περάντες. *IA* 585 f. ἔρωτά τ' ἔδωκας ἔρωτι δ' / αὐτὸς ἐπιτάθης. Here are further examples of the same colon, followed by a colon other than an ithyphallic: + ibycean, *Andr.* 826 f. ~ 830 f. (linked by word-overlap in 830 f.); *Herc.* 1029 f.; + ibycean with long penultimate syllable, *Herc.* 1032 f.; *Tr.* 266 f.; *Or.* 1256 f. ~ 1276 f.; + dactylic tetrameter, *Ph.* 350 f. And here are the instances of this colon when its last syllable is long: *Herc.* 1038 (end of stanza); *Hel.* 1478 ~ 1495 (followed by);²¹⁾

Rh. 898 ~ 909 (brevis in longo and hiatus in 909, strong pause in both strophe and antistrophe, and so evidently period-end; followed by).

There is a clear affinity between the enoplian paroemiac and the two cola just illustrated. Both these cola end in a short syllable when followed by an ithyphallic.²²⁾ The second of the two sometimes ends in a long, but only in metrical contexts different from ours.

Here are the instances which I have found in Euripides of the enoplian paroemiac itself: (i) with final short, Ph.146 f. *καταβόστρυχος ὅμμασι γοργὸς / εἰσιδεῖν νεανίας*. (ii) with final long, Hi.1122 ~ 1134 (strong pause at 1134; + dactylic tetrameter);²³⁾ *Herc.*895 (change of speaker); *Tr.*516 ~ 536 (strong pause at 536; + dactylo-epitrites); *Ion* 477 (+; but the responson of 477 and 457 is inexact and so this instance is doubtful);²⁴⁾ *Ph.*1547 f. (twice, + dactylic hexameter); *Rh.*903 ~ 914 (.....; end of stanza). Whether some of the passages listed here under (ii) deserve to be classed as enoplian paroemiacs may be questioned. What is important is that the metrical context of these passages is quite different from ours. The only enoplian paroemiac which appears in a metrical context comparable with ours is the single example quoted in (i), where the final syllable is short.

Here are the instances which I have found of long corresponding with short in the last syllable (.....): *Rh.*527 f. *τινός ἀ φύλακα; τις ἄμειβει / τῶν ἔμμαν πρῶτα ~ 546 f. καὶ μῆν ἄπο. Σεμέντος / ἡμένα κοιτᾶς* (the first line is hardly an enoplian paroemiac at all, but is part of a dactylo-epitrite colon);²⁵⁾ *Rh.*903 ~ 914 (end of stanza); *S. OT* 170 *στόλος οὐδ' ἔνι φροντίδος ἔγχος ~ 181 θανατοφόρα κεῖται ἀνοίκτως* (strong pause at 181; dactylic tetrameter follows; clearly period-end, so *ἔγχος* is not *anceps* but *brevis in longo*).

There is, finally, one passage where what is probably an enoplian paroemiac, ending in a long, is followed by an ithyphallic: *fr.*893 *ἀρκεῖ μετρία βιοτά μοι / αὐτρονος τραπέζης, / τὸ δ' ἄκαιρον ἄπαν ὑπερβάλ-λον τε μὴ προσείμαν*. The metre is likely to be + ithyphallic, twice. Page restored the metre in the third line with *τὸ δ' ἄκαιρον ἄπαν <τά θ'> ὑπερβάλ-λοντα μὴ προσείμαν* (an unpublished conjecture; cf. *Med.*127 f.).²⁶⁾ Such an instance, where the ithyphallic is linked to the enoplian by word-overlap, is different in nature from the instances which I have listed above, where the cola remain discrete.²⁷⁾ It calls to mind passages like *Med.*420 *οὐκέτι δύστιελάδος φαῖμα γυναικάς ἔξει ~ 430 πόλλα μὲν ἀμετέραν ἀνδρῶν τέ μοιράν εἰπεῖν. Hec.* 653 f. *πολιτῶν τ' ἔπι μράτα*

μάτηρ τέκνων θάνοντῶν. Fr.118.2 f. ἀπόπαισσον ἔπειρον ἄχοι μὲ σὺν φίλατσεν, in all of which word-overlap links the ithyphallic to the preceding colon.

If Herwerden's ἄνδρα is right, then metre conspires with palaeographical probability to suggest that ἑοῦσαν is a corruption of ἔχουσαν. A similar corruption has occurred at *Tr.* 695 (ἔχω Burges : ἔω codd.; see *Studies* 66 f.). ἔχουσαν should be taken with σε, in spite of the interposed καὶ Ἐρμιόναν. There is no difficulty in this: it is Andromache whom the chorus are addressing, and Ἐρμιόναν, though grammatically coordinate with σε, is logically subordinate to it (the sense amounts to '...have brought you into conflict with Hermione'). This is a variety of the διὰ μέσου construction, where very commonly a verb is interposed between noun and attribute. E.g. *Iliad* 11.738 f. ἔλον ἄνδρα, κόμισσα δὲ μάνυχας ἵππους, / Μούλιον. *Hec.* 919-21 πόσιες... ἔκειτο, ξωτὸν δ' ἐπὶ πασσάλωι,... δρῶν. 1047 οὐ γάρ καθεῖλες θρῆικα καὶ κρατεῖς ἔένον; ²⁸⁾ Here the word interposed between noun and attribute is another noun: similarly *Herc.* 774-76 ὁ χρυσὸς ἀ τ' εὔτυχία... ἐφέλκων. *Cycl.* 604 αὐτὸν τε ναύτας τ' ἀπολέσητ' Ὀδυσσέα. ²⁹⁾ *Hyps.* fr.60.13 f. ὁ πρῶιρα καὶ λευκαῖνον ἐξ ἄλμης ὕδωρ / Ἀργοῦς. For further illustration see Kühner-Gerth I.80; West on *Hes. Op.* 406.

In 123 the vocative τλάμον seems more natural than an appositional accusative τλάμον'. ³⁰⁾

Andr. 479-85 πνοαὶ δ' ὅταν φέρωσι ναυτίλους θοαί,
κατὰ πηδαλίων διεδύμα πραπίδων γνώμα
σοφῶν τε πλῆθος ἀθρόδον ἀσθενέστερον
φαυλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς.
+ ἐνδὲ ἀ δύνασις+ ἀνά τε μέλαθρα
κατά τε πόλιας, δόπταν εὐ-
ρεῖν θέλωσι καιρόν.

480

480 διεδύμα... γνώμα AVLP (δίδυμα L) : δίδυμαι... γνῶμαι MB et V³
481 σοφόν P 484 ἀ] δ P

In a storm (say the chorus in 479-82) divided counsel over the handling of the rudder, and a multitude of wise men, are not as effective as a lesser mind in absolute control. Alternative punctuations of these lines (they are discussed by Stevens) are to be rejected. In 480 conjecture is unnecessary; the singular διεδύμα... γνώμα is more stylish than the plural

and better suits the predicate ἀσθενέστερον; and the use of κατὰ is exemplified by LSJ, s.v. A.7; Kühner-Gerth I.476; Barrett on *Hi.* 1051 f. Lines 483-85 give sense of a sort: 'Power belongs to (?) one man, when people wish to find the right mark.'³²⁾ Metre shows 483 to be faulty. The antistrophic verse 491 which corresponds with 483 is a fully resolved iambic diameter. Some of the conjectures give uncouth and barely intelligible Greek: ...ἐνός, ὁ (or ἦ) δύνασις Hermann (with no punctuation after αὐτοκρατοῦς), ἐν ὅσα δύνασις Lenting ('quaecumque sunt potestas, ea (sunt ver erunt) unum, si bene consulatur'),³³⁾ ἐνός, ὁ δύναται Blaydes (*Adversaria critica* 237). Less uncouth are Seidler's ἐν ἐνὶ δύνασις and Wilamowitz's ἐνὶ δὲ δύνασις (*Verskunst* 427 n.1), but they entail improbable changes.

For ἐνός ἡ δύνασις read ἐνός ἄρ' ἀνυστις, 'effective execution belongs to one man, when...'. Compare *Iliad* 2.347 ἀνυστις δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται αὐτῶν ('there will be no fulfilment on their part,' as Leaf translates; cf. E.-M. Voigt in *Lexicon des frdlhgriech. Epos*, I [1979] 959 f.), Alcman 1.83 f. P. [σι]ῶν γάρ ἄνα / καὶ τέλος. That the noun is not elsewhere found in tragedy can be an argument against its restoration here; ἄνω and ἀνύ(τ)ω are in regular use; and ἀνυστόν is found for the first time at *Held.* 961 (unless Emperius' ἀνυστόν for ἀνεκτόν is right at *Theogn.* 1195) but never again in tragedy and rarely thereafter. Aeschylus has the much rarer ἄνη at *Septem* 713 (elsewhere only Alcman l.c. and Callim. *h.*1.90).

Andr. 510 'Av. οὐεῖσηι δῆ, τέκνον ὁ φίλος, ...
κεῖσηι δῆ Musgrave: οὐεῖσ' ἥδη codd. : οὐεῖσο δῆ B^{ΥΡ} (οὐεῖσο etiam A^{gl})

Everyone now accepts Musgrave's conjecture. But it has not been observed that the conjecture is implied by the scholia, which have been inaccurately and incompletely reported. E. Schwartz, *Scholia in Euripidem* II (1891) 287, reports from M and V (V is Schwartz's A) this comment on οὐεῖσ' ἥδη:

διεχῶς δύναται νοεῖσθαι οὐεῖσο δῆ καὶ οὐεῖσ' ἥδη.
This he emends to οὐεῖσο ἥδη καὶ οὐεῖσε ἥδη, so imputing to the scholiast the remark that οὐεῖσ' may be interpreted as either οὐεῖσο or οὐεῖσε. He has reported M correctly. But V has something different: διεχῶς δύναται εἶναι τὸ πλῆρες οὐεῖσο δῆ καὶ οὐεῖση διπλον.³⁴⁾ And N (Neap. II F 41), whose marginal scholia

Schwartz reports, has this interlinear scholion, which he has not reported: διχῶς δύναται νοεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆρες κεῖσο δὴ καὶ κείση δὴ. It is clear that what the scholiast is saying is that κεῖσ' ἥδη may be interpreted either as κεῖσο ἥδη (by *scriptio plena*, τὸ πλῆρες) or as κείση δὴ. Putting the three versions together we can restore the original form of the scholion:

διχῶς δύναται νοεῖσθαι (Σ^{mn} : εἶναι Σ^{v}) · τὸ πλῆρες (Σ^{vn} : om. Σ^{m}) κεῖσο ἥδη (Schwartz : κεῖσο δὴ Σ^{mvn}) καὶ κείση δὴ (Σ^{n} : κεῖσ' ἥδη Σ^{m} : κείση Σ^{v}).

There is another place in this play where a conjecture (this time one which has not gained general acceptance) is confirmed by a scholion which Schwartz does not report: 814 μέγ' ἀλγεῖ codd., μεταλγεῖ Nauck.

'In codice Vaticano qui adscripsit μετανοήσασα λυπεῖται, nonne legit μεταλγεῖ?' asks E. Bruhn, *Jahrb. f. klass. Philol., Suppl.* 15 (1887)

272. I do not know where Bruhn found this information. If he had looked at V itself, he would have found that it actually has, above the line, γρ. μεταλγεῖ, ἀντὶ τοῦ μετανοήσασα λυπεῖται. B (whose scholia Schwartz ignores completely in this play) and H (the Jerusalem palimpsest) have the scholion μετανοεῖ ἐννοήσασα λυπεῖται. And the confirmation of this conjecture lends strong support, in its turn, to the similar conjecture which Nauck made at *Med.* 291 ὕστερον μέγα στένειν (μετα-³⁵ στένειν Nauck). Page objected to the tautology of ὕστερον μετα-. R. Renahan, *Studies in Greek texts* (1976) 61 f., has shown that the tautology is highly idiomatic. What is more, μεταστένειν proves to be the reading of the *Gnomologium Escorialense*: see K. Matthiessen, *Hermes* 94 (1966) 398-410.

Andr. 778-84 κρεῖσσον δὲ νίκαν μὴ κακόδοξον ἔχειν
ἢ ἐὸν φθόνωι σφάλλειν δυνάμει τε δίκαν. 780
ἥδη μὲν γάρ αὐτίκα τοῦτο βροτοῖσιν,
ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ τελέθει
Ἐηρὸν καὶ ὄνείδεσιν τέγκειται δόμων+.

784 ὄνείδεσιν ἔγκειται HAVLP et B² et Gnomol. Barberinianum³⁶⁾ : ὄνείδεσι νείνη τε MB?O

'It is better not to have a victory that brings ill repute than to overthrow justice by the invidious exercise of force. For this brings momentary pleasure to mortals, but in time it withers away³⁷⁾ and (involves the house in disgrace).'. The bracketed words give the sense which presumably lies behind

όνείδεσιν ἔγκειται δόμων. 'Editors take the text as it stands to mean unjust victory "is included among reproaches against the house",' says Stevens, adding that 'this sense is rather weak.' It is intolerable. Scarcely better is Norwood's 'This evil prosperity in time bears upon (the wicked prosperous man) with reproaches against his house.' The emendations are uniformly unappealing, indeed some are barely intelligible:

ὅνειδος ἀμείβεται δόμων Hartung ('receives in exchange a reproach against the house' Stevens, who wrongly ascribes the conjecture to Herwerden);
 ὅνειδος ἀεὶ κεῖται δόμων Barthold; ὅνείδεσιν εἶκει δαμοτᾶν Kayser; ὅνειδος ἔνεγκει δαμοτᾶν Herwerden (*Mnemosyne* 31 [1903] 263); ὅνείδεσι νικᾶται δόμων Wilamowitz. Stevens suggests δόμαι ('presses upon the house'), and so Blaydes had already suggested (*Adversaria critica* 242), but the collocation of the datives ὅνείδεσι... δόμαι gives very poor style.

Write δόμος for δόμων: 'and the house is involved in disgrace.' Compare 91 f. οἶσπερ ἔγκείμεσθ' ἀεὶ / θρήνοισι; *IT* 144 f. θρήνοις ἔγκειμαι. *Ion* 181 οἶς δ' ἔγκειμαι μόχθοις. *Hel.* 269 συμφοραῖς ἔγκείμεθα. *S. Ph.* 1318 ἐκουσίοισιν ἔγκεινται βλάβαις. *Archil.* 193.1 West ἔγκειμαι πόθωι. For δόμος as subject in a similar connection see 548 f. νοσεῖ / δόμος; *Hi.* 852; *Hel.* 478; *Or.* 1537 f.; *S. Ant.* 584.

Andr. 832-39 Τρ. τέκνον, κάλυπτε στέρνα, σύνδησαι πέπλους.

Ἐρ.	τί δέ με δεῖ στέρνα	[στρ. β
	καλύπτειν πέπλοις; δῆλα καὶ	
	άμφιφανῆ καὶ ἄκρυπτα δε-	835a
	δράκαμεν πόσιν.	835b
Τρ.	άλγεῖς φόνον ῥάψασα συγγάμωι σέθεν;	
Ἐρ.	κατὰ μὲν οὖν στένω	[άντ. β
	δαίας τόλμας, ἀν ἔρεξ'.	
	ῶ κατάρατος ἔγώ κατά-	839a
	ρατος ἀνθρώποις.	839b

832 σύνδησον A πέπλους O, *sicut coni*. Reiske : πέπλοις cett.
 833 δεῖ om. B 834 πέπλους O 838 δαίας MAVLP : δικαίας
⟨B⟩O : δεμίας D : δεμίας vel δεβιαίας B² 839 ὡ MBLP et ¹Σ^m
 : ἡ V : ἡ A

This is Murray's text. My apparatus criticus records two mss. readings which are not reported by modern editors and one which has never been reported; all of them I believe to be right

In 832 editors accept (and in the last century some of them attributed to O) Reiske's πέπλους. They do not accept (but they used to report) σύνδησον, which Blaydes proposed as a conjecture (*Adversaria critica* 242); the middle is unexampled. The main problem is in 834 ~ 838, where a dochmiac καλύπτειν πέπλοις is answered by δαῖας τόλμας (- - - -), and elision (ἔρεξ· / ḁ), which implies synapheia, answers hiatus (καὶ / ἀμφιφανῆ), which is incompatible with synapheia. A solution was proposed by T.C.W. Stinton, *JHS* 97 (1977) 143, who restored dochmiac response by changing δαῖας τόλμας to τόλμας δαῖας and restored a run of dactyls by changing ᔁρεξ' to ᔁρξ': 834 f. καλύπτειν πέπλοις; / δῆλα καὶ ἀμφιφανῆ καὶ ἀκρυπτα δε-/δράκαμεν πόσιν ~ 838 f. τόλμας δαῖας, / ḁν ᔁρξ' ἀ κατάρατος ἐγώ κατά-/ρατος ἀνθρώποις.

Simple though this is, I do not think that it is the whole truth. First, as Stinton admits, the aorist indicative ᔁρξα (from ᔁρδω) is very uncommon in tragedy (only *A. Septem* 923 and uncertain conjectures at *Ag.* 1529; *S. Ai.* 905; adesp. tr.490).³⁸⁾ Since the form ᔁρεξα (from ρέζω) is better attested and Euripidean (*Med.* 1292; *El.* 1226; *S. OC* 539 bis)³⁹⁾ I prefer ρέξ', with omission of the syllabic augment.⁴⁰⁾ Credit for this proposal (not reported by editors) must go to Burges (ed. *Tr.*, p.163).

Second, Stinton has left a dochmiac with *brevis in longo* in 833 (τί δέ με δεῖ στέρνα). In *CQ* n.s. 27 (1977) 46 he has argued that *brevis in longo* and hiatus are allowed in dochmiacs even without pause or change of speaker. I am quite unconvinced. The Euripidean passages which he lists are a precarious collection: (i) *Alc.* 120 ~ 130: I do not regard this as an 'indubitable dochmiac.' If it is not taken in the way I suggested in *PCPS* n.s. 20 (1974) 26, it may be better to emend it (several proposals exist); in any case the dochmiac would be isolated, not followed by another, as here. (ii) *Andr.* 833 (the present passage). (iii) *Ba.* 1002 (admitted to be 'undoubtedly corrupt'). (iv) 'I am less convinced that the *brevis* is due to corruption in *Pho.* 177.' See N.C. Conomis, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 24, 44. (v) *Herc.* 1060 (hiatus): see *Studies* 54-56.

Conomis (art. cit.44) suggested στέρνον. I suggest τί δέ με δεῖ στέρνοις / καλύπτειν πέπλους ~ κατὰ μὲν οὖν τόλμας / στένω δαῖας. This not only eliminates the *brevis*; it restores exact

syllabic correspondence between the dochmiacs τί δέ με δεῖ στέρονται and κατὰ μὲν οὖν τόλμας. In the antistrophe my transposition (τόλμας στένω δαῖας for στένω δαῖας τόλμας) is even more easily justified than is Stinton's interchange of τόλμας with δαῖας: 'the displacement of an adjective so that it may occupy a position next to its noun, or of a noun so that it may stand next to its adjective, is a common error, and illustration exists in abundance.'⁴¹⁾ In the strophe στέρονται καλύπτειν πέπλους, with its inversion of the normal relationship of the two nouns, is an expression of the same stamp as *I T* 312 πέπλων τε προυκάλυπτεν εύπήνους ὑφάς. *Ion* 1522 περικαλύψαι τοῖσι πράγμασι σκότον. *Iliad* 5.315 πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοι φαεινοῦ πτύγμ' ἐκάλυψεν. 21.321 τόσσην οἱ ἄσιν καθύπερθε καλύψω (cf. 8.331; 14.359; 17.132; 22.313; *Plat. Tim.* 34 b). A similar inversion has been introduced by conjecture at *Herc.* 640 f. (γῆρας) βλεφάρων / σκοτεινὸν φάρος ἐπικαλύψαν (βλεφάρωι... φάρος Reiske), but there I prefer βλεφάρων...φάρος (Stiblinus). Whether O's πέπλους is a genuine preservation or a lucky slip (here as in 832) I do not know. In this play O is either a copy or a twin of B.⁴²⁾

Possibly we should prefer the accusative τόλμαν... δαῖαν, as did Burges and Hermann (both believing that it was metre which called for δαῖαν τόλμαν). Wecklein described δαῖας τόλμας καταστένω as 'eine grammatische Unmöglichkeit' (*SBAM* 1897, 461). That is unjustified, since the genitive may be explained as the causal genitive commonly found with verbs of lamentation (Kühner-Gerth I.388 f.). Stevens quotes as an instance of στένω with this construction *IA* 370 'Ελλάδος...στένω, but this is better not quoted, since 'στένω c. gen. of commiserated object is without parallel' (Page, *Actors' Interpolations* 149; see England ad loc.); and it does not help to quote, as Stevens also does, for a parallel to the absolute use of καταστένω, the anomalous and possibly non-Euripidean *IA* 470 ὑπὲρ τυράννων συμφορᾶς καταστένειν.

Finally, in 839 ἀ κατάρατος ἔγώ, following the first-person verb, is preferable to ὦ κτλ.⁴³⁾ (ὦ κατάρατος ἔγώ at *Ar. Thes.* 1048 [= E. fr.122] may or may not be an echo of this passage). This calls to mind *Andr.* 1200 f. ὀττοτοτοτοῖ, διάδοχα δ' ὦ τάλας ἔγώ / γέρων καὶ δυστυχῆς δακρύω (δ' ὦ Α : om. M<V>LPO

et Σ^V). A's δ' ḍ mends the metre but cannot be right: (i) δ' after an exclamation is unparalleled (Denniston, *GP* 189);⁴⁴⁾ (ii) ḍ τάλας ἔγω... δακρύω is, to my knowledge, equally without parallel, for ḍν ρέξ'· ḍ ητλ., even if it were right, would give a different order of words. Blaydes' διάδοχα (δ' αδ') (*Adversaria critica* 248) answers the second objection but not the first. Wilamowitz's διάδοχά (σοι) answers both.

Andr. 1097 ἀρχαὶ τ' ἐπληροῦντ' εῖς τε βουλευτήρια...

In *PCPS* n.s. 15 (1969) 43 f. I proposed ἀρχαῖτά τ' ἐπληροῦτο βουλευτήρια, and I need not repeat my arguments, except that I should add to the illustrations of the lengthening of the syllabic augment before mute and liquid in ἐπληροῦτο S. *Ichn.* 39 ἐπέκλυσον; 224 ητέκλυσον; E. *Cret.* 21 Page (fr. 82.21 Austin) ἐ[νέπλησεν κα]κῶν (though ἐ[πλήρωσεν or ἐ[μέστωσεν might be considered]). I agree with Stevens (*Addenda*, p. 249) that the epithet ἀρχαῖτα 'has no special point,' and I now prefer ἀρχαῖσι τ' ητλ., 'the council chambers began to be filled up with the Delphic authorities.' For ἀρχαῖ in this sense see *Ion* 1111 ἀρχαῖ...ἀπικχώριοι. For the dative see *Herc.* 372 f. πεύκαισιν... χέρας πληροῦντες; A. *Septem* 464 (φιμοί) πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι; cf. also Kühner-Gerth I.422; S. fr. 921 P.

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NOTES

1) I refer to the following commentaries: (a) *Alcestis*: G. Wakefield (London 1794), G. Hermann (Leipzig 1824), J.H. Monk (ed. 5, Cambridge 1837), F.A. Paley (ed. 2, London 1872), M.L. Earle (London 1894), W.S. Hadley (Cambridge 1896), H.W. Hayley (Boston 1898), L. Weber (Leipzig/Berlin 1930), A.M. Dale (Oxford 1954); (b) *Andromache*: J. Lenting (Zutphaniae 1829), G. Hermann (Leipzig 1838), F.A. Paley (ed. 2, London 1874), G. Norwood (London 1906), N. Wecklein (Leipzig/Berlin 1911), P.T. Stevens (Oxford 1971). *Studies* refers to my *Studies on the text of Euripides* (Oxford 1980).

I am indebted to Dr. Roger Dawe for several helpful comments and to Mr. Nigel Wilson for a service which is acknowledged in n.34.

2) Hermann's conjecture is to be found written in his own hand in his copy of the edition by C.T. Kuinoel (1789), now in the Cambridge University Library. It is not found in his own edition (1824). His annotations to Kuinoel were made after 1813, since he refers (on p.144) to Elmsley's review of his *Supplices* (*Cl. Journal* 16, 1813). Of his other manuscript conjectures a few more are worth reporting here, especially since some of them anticipate proposals made by later scholars: 153 χρονοτήν... τῆνδ' ὑπερβε-

βλημένως, 118 ἀπότομος (Blomfield *apud* Monk; Hermann in his 1824 edition claims priority), 347 μοι for μου (Earle, perhaps rightly), 717 οὐμεῖτά γ', ὃ κάμιστε, σῆς ὀψυχίας (Bruhn, *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. Suppl.* 15, 1887, 254 f.), 963 βάς μετάρσιος (for καὶ μ-). The last is clever, since it avoids both a zeugma ('we understand ἔβην from ήτε, which strictly belongs only to μετάρσιος' Earle) and a slightly forced antithesis (καὶ διὰ μούας καὶ μετάρσιος ήτε, 'I have both ranged through literature and soared aloft in the speculations of science,' as Hadley translates: cf. Σὺ καὶ μετάρσιος ήτε: καὶ περὶ μετεάρων ἐφρόντισα, οἶον ἡστρολόγησα). But the transmitted text is acceptable. I mention a further conjecture of Hermann's from this same source (at 436) in the note on *Alc.* 218 ff. (below).

3) For the doubling of ἄν see Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* I.60-70; Page on *Med.* 250; Barrett on *Hi.* 270.

4) For further illustration see *Studies* 27.

5) In *Nova acta lit. soc. Rheno-Traiect.* 1 (1821) 35. I have not seen his *Epistula critica in Eur. Alcestin* (1821).

6) *PCPS* n.s. 15 (1969) 36 f. To the instances of this confusion cited there I add, from R.D. Dawe's edition of Sophocles, *Ant.* 320 (Burges) and *OC* 383 (Dawe). See also Dawe's *Studies on the text of Sophocles* III (1978) 128 f.

7) Cf. T.C.W. Stinton, *JHS* 96 (1976) 127; *CQ* n.s. 27 (1977) 60.

8) *De praepositionum cum tribus casibus coniunctarum usu Euripideo* I (1884) 73. 9) See above, n.2.

10) *Griechische Tragödien* ed.2, IX (1920) 93. For a later view see *Griechische Verskunst* (1921) 534.

11) Cf. *Gnomon* 48 (1976) 232.

12) For two recent proposals (not however touching on the question of responsion) see R.D. Dawe, *The collation and investigation of manuscripts of Aeschylus* (1964) 182; T.C.W. Stinton, *PCPS* n.s. 13 (1967) 49 f.

13) Correspondence of molossus and cretic, on the other hand, is attested in the last metron at S. *OC* 1559 ~ 1571 ---/---/-̄. Cf. *Ion* 676 ~ 695 (dochmios + ̄), Dale 102.

14) They go on to pray in the lines which follow. Matthiae proposed εὔχόμεσθα, which Bothe argues for unconvincingly ('*Servus, quamvis actum sit de Alcestide, tamen etiamcum familiam deos invocare dicit, ut qui nihil non possint, si velint*').

15) δῆ should be changed to δὲ even if ἐγένεσθα is preferred. Denniston, *GP* 218, cites only one parallel for δῆ with a jussive subjunctive, S. *Phil.* 1469 χωρῶμεν δῆ (δῆ *Tgl* et *coni.* Hermann : νῦν *T*, *recepit* Dawe : ήδη et ίδού cett.).

16) Cf. G. Zuntz, *The political plays of Euripides* (1955) 107.

17) A. Tuilier, *Étude comparée du texte et des scholies d'Euripide* (1972) 33, even finds it possible to accept δὲ alongside περιβαλῶν: see my comments in *Gnomon* 76 (1974) 747.

18) 'L is rather disappointing in *Hecuba*,' K. Matthiessen, *GRBS* 10 (1969) 301. See further his *Studien zur Textüberlieferung der Hekabe des Euripides* (1974) 64, 119-21.

19) I need not discuss the proposals of Schumacher (cit. *supra*, n.8), p.15, C. Busche, *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.* 137 (1888) 458 f., E. Holzner, *Euripi-deische Studien* (1895) 10 f.

20) Cf. W. Morel, *Bursian* 1938, 47.

21) For the text see *Studies* 52.

22) Perhaps it would be appropriate to add to this category *Alc.* 904 f. ἐν γένει δι κόρος ἀξιόθρηνος / ὥλετ' ἐν δόμοισιν ~ 927 f. σοὶ πότιμον ἔλθεν ἀπειροκάμαι τόδ' / ἀλγος· ὅλλ' ἔσωσας. Dale ad loc. prefers ἀξιόθρηνος and -κάμαι / τόδ', adding that 'the exact point of division... is a matter of indifference.' At any rate, 904 ~ 927 in the former colometry must not be taken as a dactylic tetrameter, since the elision of τόδε shows that the lines are in synapheia and that the final syllable is therefore a true short and not *brevis in longo*. Compare *Tr.* 838 f. ~ 858 f.

23) Murray's colometry. Barrett prints this as a segment of a longer colon. The same sequence is visible in other lines of this ode (see Barrett, p.370), and here again it is a matter of indifference where we divide.

24) See *PCPS* n.s. 20 (1974) 19; *Studies* 102.

25) Cf. Dale, *Lyric metres* 181 f.; W. Ritchie, *The authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides* (1964) 314 f.

26) *(τόδ')* ὑπερβάλλον τε Porson. In the second line read τραπέζας for -ζης.

27) An exception (quoted above) was *Andr.* 830 f. (...../.....), linked by word-overlap.

28) See also Kühner-Gerth II.602; Bruhn, *Anhang zu Sophokles* § 173; Jebb on *S. Ant.* 1279 f.; Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 318; West on *Hes. Theog.* 158; Stinton, *JHS* 97 (1977) 131 f.

29) A good parallel for αὐτὸν τε ναύτας τ'... 'Οδυσσέα is Sil. 6.277 *ingenti... et iaculis et pondere conti*, which I take from Housman's *Ad-denda to Manil.* 4.534 (vol. V, p.158). Pierson's αὐτοῖσιν ναύτας is not needed.

30) Cf. also Dindorf: 'praestat vocativus, ut vitetur ambiguitas quam accusativus τλάμονα haberet, qui et ad οε et ad 'Ερμιόναν referri posset.' Stevens, taking τλάμον' as dual, claims that 'if τλάμον' refers to Andromache it is odd that the Chorus should commiserate with her for having to share N. with his lawful wife.' I do not find it at all odd.

31) κατά for κατά Verrall, *Essays on four plays of Euripides* (1905) 269; κατά πρόδηλον or παρά πρόδηλίων Reiske.

32) On the senses of καιρός see Barrett on *Hi.* 386 f.; a close parallel to εὑρεῖν... καιρόν is *Med.* 128. Stevens' rewriting of 484 f. is uncalled for.

33) The same proposal ('wherever there is power, there is unity') was made by Verrall (cited in n.31 above).

34) I owe the identification of εἶναι in this line to Mr. Nigel Wilson, who kindly inspected the manuscript for me in Rome; my photograph was unclear. At the end of the line we have διπλ with what I took to be a compendium for αο with an accent. An abbreviation for διπλασίως? But this would duplicate διχώς. Mr. Wilson (hesitantly) prefers διπλον ('But διπλον is a puzzle, as it gives no sense and introduces an unknown compendium. ...But elsewhere in the MS. the scribe uses the same curve stroke in this sense').

35) See S.G. Daitz, *The scholia in the Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides: a critical edition* (1979) 78.

36) Published by K. Matthiessen, *Hermes* 93 (1965) 148-58.

37) 'Super hunc versum scripsit ἀκραές V' Murray. No: it is above ἔρον (in H as well as V), and I take it to be a gloss on this word (cf. Σ^{hm} τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ αὐτῷ μαραίνεται). Murray presumably took it to be a comment on the obscurity of the verse, as did Matthiae; Lenting took it to indicate that a word had been lost ('evanuisse aliquod vocabulum'). In the alternative version of Σ^{mv} ἡ... ἡδονή ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον φθάνουσα κτλ., Holzner (*Studien zu Eur.* 32) plausibly conjectured ἀνθοῦσα, comparing *El.* 943 f. ὀλβος... απικρθεὶς ἀνθίσας χρόνον.

38) Cf. O. Lautensach, *Die Aoriste bei den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (1911) 179.

39) Cf. Lautensach, *ibidem*.

40) For which see Lautensach, *Grammatische Studien zu den griechischen Tragikern und Komikern: Augment und Reduplikation* (1899) 174-77. The manuscripts commonly restore the augment: e.g. 285 (νίψαν Hermann : νίψαντο LP : ἔνυψαν(τ') fere MBAV), *Alc.* 583 (χόρευσε Monk : ἔχ- codd.).

41) *GRBS* 14 (1973) 251 f. See also *Dionysiaca: nine studies in Greek poetry by former pupils presented to Sir Denys Page* (1978) 173 f.; *Studies* 49 f.

42) Cf. A. Turyn, *The Byzantine manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Euripides* (1957) 334, who believes it a copy. But the reservations of Barrett, *Hippolytos* p.65 n.2, and Matthiessen, *Studien* (supra, n.18) 25 n.24, are justified. I hope to discuss the question elsewhere. In 838 we can confidently assume that B (which is variously reported by editors) had the same reading as O; nothing should be built on this reading, an evident slip. D (both in *Alc.* and in *Andr.*) is certainly a copy of B (as Turyn argued, pp.336 f.), made after B had been corrected by B².

43) Stinton also accepts ἀ, without argument. Cf. *Ba.* 1282 δῶμ μέγιστον ἄλγος ἡ τάλαιν' ἔγώ. *Med.* 510 f.; 1016; *Hec.* 232 f.; *Hel.* 833.

44) δέ in a question, after an exclamation, is a different matter: see 535 f. ἄμοι μοι, τί δ' ἔγώ καθῶ (MAV : καθῶ τί δ' ἔγώ BLP) / μῆκος ἔξανθαμαι; Denniston, *GP* 174 f.

THE ACADEMIC AND THE ALEXANDRIAN EDITIONS OF PLATO'S WORKS

FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN

In 1942 Günther Jachmann¹⁾ took fellow classicists to task for reconstructing the text history of Plato in antiquity without giving attention to a priceless testimony, the critical signs listed by Diogenes Laertius (III 65 f.) with the comment that they were found in the *biblia* of Plato. In Jachmann's view the use of these signs was evidence for a critical edition of Plato's works by one of the outstanding Alexandrian scholars. Jachmann's opinion has been challenged, notably by Hartmut Erbse and Rudolf Pfeiffer,²⁾ who emphasize that the signs recorded by Diogenes are not identical with those commonly employed by the Alexandrian critics. The tendency is to revert to the idea of a standard edition issued by the Academy at a time not too distant from Plato's death.

Our principal task may seem to be an examination of the "signs" in question. However, to approach them with an open mind we must first achieve clarity about the sentence in Diogenes which follows his description of the signs; for this sentence invites misunderstandings, and if misunderstood interferes not only with a correct appraisal of the signs themselves but with every serious attempt of reconstructing the early history of Plato's text. The sentence in III 66 reads: τὰ μὲν σημεῖα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα· ἀπερ Ἀντίγονός φησιν δὲ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ζήνωνος νεωστὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἴ τις ἥθελε διαναγνῶντα, μισθὸν ἔτέλει τοῖς κεντημένοις.

The beginning of the sentence (τὰ μὲν... τοσαῦτα), simple and straightforward as it looks, conceals a trap. Wilamowitz,³⁾ as one might expect, kept out of it. Others too may have stayed on safe ground and not a few may, like Henry Alline,⁴⁾ without clearly realizing the nature of the trouble, have sensed that Diogenes used a "gauche formule de transition." Still how

easily unwary readers are caught may be illustrated by the rendering of the sentence ἀπερ 'Αντίγονος... in the Loeb Diogenes: "As Antigonus of Carystus says..., when the writings were first edited with critical marks, those in possession charged a certain fee to anyone who wished to consult them."

A brief reflection will show why this understanding of the sentence is seriously misleading. A "recent edition" referred to by Antigonus of Carystus in his account of Zeno can hardly have appeared much later than 260 or 250 B.C.⁵⁾ The word διαβαγνῶναι⁶⁾ suggests a complete edition, and the same word in combination with νεωτὶ ἐκδοθέντα indicates something in the order of a "complete first edition." But that such an edition produced around 250 B.C. should have carried the critical signs listed is on historical grounds most improbable.⁷⁾ Fortunately, it is unnecessary to assume so close a connection of σημεῖα and βιβλία in the sentence. As Antonio Carlini⁸⁾ has acutely observed, ἀπερ and the clause introduced by it refer only to the βιβλία, and τὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα is for Diogenes a standard formula for the transition of the doctrines. A brief look at the topics treated by Diogenes prior to 65 f. will confirm Carlini's opinion and make it easy to understand how σημεῖα and βιβλία have come together in this strange sentence. After all, Diogenes' work is a compilation,⁹⁾ and if this brutal truth is often forgotten and research on his scissor-and-paste methods has practically ceased it may yet be resumed with increased vigor as soon as we have a well founded text. Here we only need to look at the sequence of topics in III 49 ff.

Roughly, the topics are these: The principal types of Plato's dialogues (49-51; in 50 f. the dialogues are enumerated); Plato's methods, scil. dogmatic, aporetic etc. (52-55); a comparison of dialogue and tragedy (56); a new listing of the dialogues, this time organized in tetralogies as they have reached us (57-61); Aristophanes' alternative grouping in trilogies (62) and related matters; comments on Plato's style and usage (63 f.); three types of exegesis practised on his works (65). Next follows the list and the definitions of the "signs" with which we are gradually getting ready to deal (65 f.).

We now realize that in the sentence which we decided to scrutinize the first four words (τὰ μὲν σημεῖα ταῦτα) are perfectly

in place but that the four immediately following cannot be accepted as the summary which they pretend to be; for the enumeration of Plato's works has come to an end some time ago -- strictly speaking in 61, though if we wish to be generous we may allow the subject to continue in 62. The reason why Diogenes in our sentence returns to the *Βιβλία* is not far to seek. He wishes to work in the item of information derived from Antigonus. Whether he could have found a more appropriate place for it elsewhere is not for us to say; what matters is that the "signs" have nothing to do with the "recent" edition mentioned by Antigonus.

What, then, is this edition and where did it originate? Antigonus' knowledge of it provides the *terminus ante quem*. Beyond this point speculation has a large scope, but what may be maintained with a good scholarly conscience is little. Still some possibilities deserve consideration.

As the copies of the new edition seem not to have been numerous -- was it really, as Alline suggests, an "edition de luxe" or did the task of copying many works, some of them quite extensive, take so long?¹⁰⁾ -- do we know anyone of the happy few to whom Diogenes refers as *κεντημένοι*? Perhaps we do. Diogenes in IV 32, while introducing us to Arcesilaus, reports (in a rather hodge-podge chapter): 'Εψκει δὴ (δε ?) θαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἐκέντητο αὐτοῦ.¹¹⁾ Even if Arcesilaus wavered for some time between different schools and in the end started a new brand of Academic philosophy (cf. D.L. IV 28), the acquisition (or possession) of Plato's works by a head of his school would hardly be noteworthy unless copies of the complete works were either a rarity or uncommonly expensive.

Our next question -- and indeed an inescapable one -- is whether this edition was produced by the Academy. We have indicated that this opinion enjoys considerable vogue. It is held by distinguished scholars particularly at home in questions of text history, and even someone anxious not to show unwarranted confidence must admit that no other single candidate has as strong a claim as Plato's school. Wilamowitz, the founder of systematic "Textgeschichte," suggested that the Academy produced this edition at the time of Arcesilaus or Lacydes "gerade weil der Plato der alten Akademie aufgegeben war."¹²⁾ We have just

by another road arrived at a date close to the time of Arcesilaus, although (if our reasoning is correct) the edition was not a task that fell to him as *scholarchos* but had been completed earlier, say, before 270. We may as well place it anywhere between 300 and 270.¹³⁾ Judging by the Flinders Petrie papyrus of *Phaedo*, corruption was rampant in the texts and the need for an "authoritative" edition correspondingly acute.¹⁴⁾ But it would be idle to deny the precarious quality of these conclusions. Anyone holding that we should place the authoritative Academic edition less far from the year of Plato's death¹⁵⁾ cannot be refuted.

Closely related to the question of Academic origin is the other whether or not Plato's autographs served as the basis of the edition. Surely if these autographs were in existence, no group (or individual) is as likely to have been in their possession as the Academy. But how long were autographs kept?¹⁶⁾ We cannot be sure, but as the idea that the autographs were available for the edition is far from absurd, it will be well to think about its implications. An edition made from autographs can hardly have contained any *spuria*. At the opposite end of the spectrum, an edition not based on autographs and produced about three generations after Plato's death may, as Wilamowitz argued, have included most or indeed almost all *spuria*.¹⁷⁾

Unfortunately, the problem of *spuria* is closely tied to the formation of the tetralogies. For while tetralogies I-III consists entirely of genuine dialogues, in IV three dialogues are certainly spurious and the fourth (the *Greater Alcibiades*) under grave suspicion. Tetralogies V-IX show little discrimination between true and false. Should editors in the Academy really have exercised so little care about keeping the authentic works apart? The origin of the tetralogies -- a topic on which I touch reluctantly -- remains shrouded in darkness. In the absence of testimonies bearing directly on the question, the agreement between the tetralogies in our MSS. with those recorded by Diogenes (and suggested by Albinus, *Isag.* 4) provides the safest basis of operation. The agreement points to some authoritative edition; but regarding time, place and circumstances of this edition it provides no indication. It can hardly

have been the Academic edition. We must look for help elsewhere. On the once beloved 'Ἄττικ^{ιαν} ἀντίγραφα¹⁸⁾ no one will any longer construct an edifice of hypotheses. Varro's (*de L.L.7.37*) *Plato in IV*, a citation of the *Phaedo* by its place in the tetralogy to which it belongs, furnishes a *terminus ante quem*-- although, strictly speaking, this does not extend to the entire scheme of nine tetralogies. The association of Dercyllidas' name with the tetralogical scheme¹⁹⁾ is a welcome confirmation of Varro's testimony. Dercyllidas may have lived one or several generations before Varro, but since all that we really know is that he lived before Thrasyllus, the astrologer of Tiberius, we had better not use his name and guesses about him to push the tetralogies farther back. Thrasyllus' own testimony adds nothing.²⁰⁾ Finally, to destroy one more illusion, Diogenes' testimony (III 61), "Ἐντολέες δέ, δύναται καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἔλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους, must not be read as implying the existence of the tetralogical arrangement prior to Aristophanes.²¹⁾ It is hard to imagine why of all men just he, the great cataloguer, should depart from the standard grouping with the deplorable result of leaving a good number of the dialogues ἀτακτα, i.e. outside the groups he put together. In fact, his unfortunate experiment makes far more sense if there was no standard grouping yet.

It remains to offer our comments on the critical σημεῖα. We have detached them from the edition known to Antigonus; continuing our line of maximal caution, we may as well suggest that there is no need to postulate one or several editions, let alone a general editorial practice, of using all of these signs in every dialogue. Diogenes' phrasing leaves room for a rather sporadic employment of them. As for the signs as such, granted that they are not in every detail identical with those applied by the great Homeric critics, to deny any connection with their signs seems to me no less mistaken -- if not indeed a greater error -- than a sweeping assertion of identity between them.²²⁾ While there are instances of complete agreement, Diogenes' list as a whole is best understood as a development of the Alexandrian practice. More precisely, it shows an adaptation of this practice to the specific conditions of Plato's dialogues and to the interests of their readers and critics.

The use of the *obelos* πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν (III 66) is surely as orthodox as anybody could wish, and if the ὄβελὸς περιεστιγμένος (*ibid.*), which is applied to "gratuitous atheteses" (scil. of earlier critics), is not familiar from Homeric criticism it yet presupposes the simple *obelos* and recalls the διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη, two signs that are used by Aristarchus.²³⁾ Again Diogenes lists *sigma* and *antisigma* as used πρὸς τὰς διττὰς χρήσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν γραφῶν, a description that may be understood in more ways than one but can hardly mean something altogether different from the dual versions that Aristarchus marked by these two signs.²⁴⁾ The *diple* was by Homeric critics used for various kinds of observations, but mostly with reference to peculiarities of language and style; in Plato it serves to indicate his *placita* (III 65). Here surely is a difference, but the application of the διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη in Platonic texts πρὸς τὰς ἐνίων διορθώσεις corresponds to Aristarchus' use of it in polemizing against his predecessor Zenodotus. It is curious that the complex sign has retained its function, whereas the simple one has been transferred to a new task -- but may we not reasonably regard the *placita* as the noteworthy items in a philosophical text? Two more examples will do: *chi* serves in Homeric criticism to indicate remarkable lines as well as words that are in need of explanation; in Plato too it refers to matters of language, more precisely to vocabulary (λέξεις), figures and usage in general. Finally,²⁵⁾ the asterisk, in Homeric texts a sign which marks recurrent lines, is in Platonic criticism given a more ambitious and intellectual purpose, scil. of drawing attention to the harmony (or intrinsic consistency) of his doctrines, again something different from but not totally alien to recurrence and repetition. However, in this case a comparison between the Homeric scholars and the information contained in Diogenes may not reveal the whole story. Alline has found fifteen instances of the asterisk in the margins of Venetus T.²⁶⁾ Most of them cluster around the myth of the *Phaedrus*, and the only common denominator of which I can think for these passages (245 c 2 f.; 246 b 5 f.; 248 a 1 f.; c 1 f.; 249 d 2-4; 250 c 7 f.; 253 c 7; 257 a 3) is that they announce or adumbrate significant topics.

New light has been shed on Diogenes' list by Vittorio Bartoletti's publication of a Florentine papyrus that contains a similar list of signs.²⁷⁾ The papyrus antedates Diogenes and the text is most easily understood as belonging to a treatise on the exegesis of Plato's dialogues. Compared with Diogenes, the list on the papyrus is incomplete; yet the reason why I call it similar rather than identical is, apart from small differences in content, that the Florentine piece presents the signs in a more rational sequence. While Diogenes introduces us to the ὁβελὸς περιεστιγμένος before defining the *obelos* itself,²⁸⁾ in the papyrus the *obelos* itself is explained first, the περιεστιγμένος later. Also the papyrus acquaints us with the use of *antisigma* as well as of ἀντίστρυμα περιεστιγμένον, whereas Diogenes' list includes only the latter (conceivably *antisigma* was originally in his text, and its loss is due to accidents in the course of transmission.)

We have called Diogenes a compiler and have seen how awkward -- and confusing -- he is when introducing an item derived from Antigonus. Thanks to Bartoletti we now know what kind of source he used for the σημεῖα. The short section preceding these, where he reports about the threefold exegesis of Plato, is most probably borrowed from still another source, and the source for the rather haphazard remarks on Plato's vocabulary (III 63 f.) is again more likely than not to be another one. This should now suffice; for we cannot undertake to separate the various strands of the compilation. Somehow Diogenes' book on Plato offers us a cross-section of the topics relating to Plato that were discussed at that time -- perhaps not so much by the pundits as by literati and popularizers.²⁹⁾ A papyrus recently published by Michael Haslam³⁰⁾ appears to deal with questions concerning the dialogues that may parallel, however remotely, Diogenes' exposé in III 50.

NOTES

1) *Der Platotext* (Nachr. Gött. Akad., 1942, 7) 334.

2) See Erbse in H. Hunger, etc., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung*, I (Zurich, 1960) 219 ff.; 258 ff.; 261 f.; Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, I (Oxford, 1968) 196 f.; see also 65 f. and n.3. Ernst Bickel too opposed Jachmann in a paper (*Rh. Mus.* 92, 1944) in which he reviewed the entire complex of questions.

3) *Antigonos von Karystos* (Berlin, 1881 and 1966) 122.

4) *Histoire du texte de Platon* (Paris, 1915) 46.

5) Zeno died in 264/63. References in his bios to events later than that year are of course not impossible, but considerations of intrinsic probability point the other way.

6) I gather from H.S. Long's edition (Oxford, 1964) that this word is unanimously transmitted. As long as διαγνῶντας was thought to be in the MSS., Casaubonus' conjecture ἀναγνῶντας enjoyed undeserved favor.

7) This will appear from the discussion below. Here I merely remark that some of the signs (notably the *diplo* *periestigmene* and the *obelos* *periestigmenos* as defined in III 66) presuppose previous critical work on the text.

8) *Studi sulla tradizione antica e medievale del Fedone* (Rome, 1972) 18 ff. Having arrived independently at the same conclusions as Carlini, I confine myself to arguments that may supplement his.

9) For Diogenes' compilation see Eduard Schwartz, *R. E.*, s.v. 740 ff., or Wilamowitz, *Platon* II (1919) 1 ff.; 5 ff., where he refers to Diels' handling of Diogenes in the *Vorsokratiker*. He might have added Diels' *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* (Berlin, 1901), where the compilation is brought out more dramatically (e.g., pp. 74 ff.), or *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879 and 1929) 161 ff., if he did not wish to refer to the elaborate analyses of his own *Antigonos* 27 ff. See further P. Moraux, *R.E.G.* 53 (1955) 124 ff. and I. Düring, *Aristotle in the ancient biographical tradition* (Göteborg, 1957) 77 f.

10) *Op. cit.*, 47. The price to be paid for Plato's *opera omnia* was certainly considerably higher than the drachme for which Anaxagoras' treatise could be bought (*Pl. Apol.* 26). It is easy to imagine that many could not afford it, while others, though interested enough to read some or all of the works, were not so wholeheartedly devoted that they felt the need of possessing them. E.G. Turner, *Athenian books in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.* (London, 1952, 20 f., and *passim*) shows how little we know about the mechanics of book trade prior to the third century. Are we much better off for the third century? Mention may be made of the story (vouched for by Favorinus, *D.L.* IV 5 = *FGrH* 561 T 3b) that Aristotle acquired Speusippus' *biblia* (i.e. the published one) for three *talanta*.

11) I mention without attaching undue importance to it that for Wilamowitz (*op. cit.*, 57 f.) Antigonus is the source of this item. The *Acad. Philos. Index Hercul.* col. 19.14-16 contains the same information.

12) *Platon* II 224 f.

13) Bickel tended to associate Arcesilaus himself with the Academic edition; see esp. *Rh. Mus.* 92 (1944) 130 f. and *passim*. In *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philosophie* 17 (1904) 474 ff. he placed it after Arcesilaus.

14) See John P. Mahaffy (ed.), *On the Flinders Petrie papyri with transcriptions, etc.* (Dublin, 1891) 68 ff. For important critical discussions see H. Usener, *Kl. Schr.*, 3, 104 ff., and Jachmann, *op. cit.*, 225 ff. It stands to reason that of particularly famous dialogues (such as the *Phaedo*) "wild" copies were always available in sufficient numbers. A complete edition, including the *Laws* and some rather technical dialogues, could not count on a large demand. -- Copies of the "authentic" edition cannot in the long run have been immune to an invasion by readings of the "wild" texts. I do not share Erbse's optimism (*op. cit.*, 220) that the Academy continued a watchful and effective control of editions. Some discrepancies between the mediaeval MSS. of Plato appear to go back to a very early stage (G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1952, 247 ff.; 255).

15) See Alline, *op. cit.*, 46.

16) The fate of the unpublished treatises, like e.g. Aristotle's in the possession of Neleus, is a different subject. Theophrastus left to Neleus in his last will "all" βιβλία (D.L. V 52), Strato to his successor Lyco τὰ βιβλία πάντα, πλὴν ὅν αὐτὸν γεγράφαμεν (V 62), for once an unambiguous reference to autographs, but not very helpful.

17) *Platon* II, 324 f. How far one should go with him remains a question. The content of Tetralogia IV is in any case most astonishing. Bickel (129 ff.) has argued strenuously for an Academic edition of nine tetralogies including the *spuria*. He is more convincing where he defines the difference between Academic and Alexandrian endeavors (113 ff.).

18) The emendation 'Αττικ*ιαν*ων for 'Αττικων (άντιγράφων) is recommended by the larger role attested for 'Αττικιαναλ ἐκδόσεις in the transmission of the orators (see esp. Usener, *op. cit.*, 143 ff.; 154 f.). For Plato the only item of evidence is found in Galen's *Commentaire sur le Timée* ed. Ch. Daremberg (Paris, 1848) 12 (of which I have been unable to see a copy).

19) Alb. *Isag.* 4; cf. Wilamowitz, *Platon*, II, 323.

20) Pace A.H. Chroust, *Hermes* 93 (1965) 38. Generally scholars have recognized the force of the arguments by which Wilamowitz (*l. c.*) disposed of Thrasyllus' alleged influence in the formation of tetralogies. Usener 157 had made essentially the same points.

21) Ξλικουσι reflects the perspective of the second century, when tetralogies were the normal arrangement. What follows in D.L. III 62 does not refer to a number of different editions, each of them beginning with another dialogue; rather ἀρχεσθαι which Chroust (36) thus understands, relates to the pedagogical question which dialogue should be studied first as the best introduction into Plato's thought. (See Alb. *Isag.* 4 for a testimony and a critical reaction to this question.)

22) Alline 84 was so convinced of this identity that he regarded the Οημετα as proving an edition of the dialogues by Aristophanes of Byzantium. Although this opinion has been discarded, much in his well informed discussion remains of interest.

23) Aristarchus used the *diple periestigmene* to indicate his disagreements from Zenodotus. For a convenient account of Aristarchus and the signs employed by him see Erbse, *op. cit.*, 226 f., or Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, 218. Both scholars deal also with the practice of Aristarchus' predecessors. Another "development" and expansion of Aristarchus' system is to be found in the so-called *Anecdotum Parisinum* (= *Gramm. Lat. VII* 533 Keil), which is said to represent the practice of Roman editors; cf. K. Büchner in *Gesch. der Textüberlieferung* (above, n.2) 329 f. It presents an increased list of *notae*. The *diple* with and without dots, the *obelos* and the dotted *antisigma* are defined in ways basically identical with their use in Homeric and Platonic texts.

24) In the Florentine papyrus presently to be discussed *antisigma* appears to be associated with *dissographiai*, only *antisigma periestigmenon* with the purpose which Diogenes records for *antisigma* as such. This removes the last difference from Alexandrian habits. For *sigma* no definition is preserved in the papyrus.

25) I refrain from comments on the *chi periestigmenon* and the *keraunion*. Although it is tempting to connect the former (said to serve for *ekloge* and *kaligraphia*) with the interest taken by literary critics in Plato and the latter ("for philosophical" *agoge*) with the concerns of early Platonic commentators, our basis is too small for inferences of this kind.

26) *Op. cit.*, 186 ff., esp. 187 n.2; see *ibid.* comments about the *diple* and other "signs" that seem to be present in Byzantine MSS.

27) See *Studi e Testi* 231 (1964) 25 ff.

28) See Bartoletti, *op. cit.*, 29.

29) Wilamowitz (*Platon II,1*) compares the material in D.L. with the summaries of Plato's doctrines and the "introductions" to his works that were current in the imperial age. Even in a work as late as the *Anonymous Prolegomena to Plato's Philosophy* (ed. G.L. Westerink, Amsterdam, 1962), we find comments on the various methods employed by Plato, on the question which dialogue should be studied first, etc. In some respects the interest has remained the same, in others it has shifted.

30) *P. Oxy. 45* (1977) 29 ff. Haslam assigns the papyrus to the latter half of the second century.

For helpful comments and references I am indebted to Philip A. Stadter and Leonardo Tarán.

THE TITLE OF PLATO'S REPUBLIC

L. G. WESTERINK

Rather than miss the opportunity of offering my congratulations to Professor Turyn, I venture to contribute a small note which, though in itself of no great importance, has nevertheless a certain interest for the tradition of the Plato text and is therefore not inappropriate to the occasion.

From Aristotle down to Damascius Plato's *Republic* is known by the familiar title Πολιτεία, in the singular. The leading group of manuscripts, however, i.e. Paris. gr. 1807 (A) with its cognates Malatestianus xxviii.4 (M) and Marc. gr. 185 (D), has the plural Πολιτεῖαι, and this corresponds to a practice that became current at Alexandria about the second quarter of the sixth century A.D.

Before coming to the point, I must eliminate two apparent earlier occurrences. The first is found in Aristotle, *Pol.* IV 7, 1293 a 42 - b 1: (usually only four types of constitutions are listed, monarchy, oligarchy, democracy, aristocracy, while the fifth, called πολιτεία, tends to be forgotten) καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς τέτταροι μόνον, ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις. This is Bekkers's text; Barker in his translation (Oxford 1946) capitalizes Πολιτείαις ("as Plato does in the *Republic*"). But since Aristotle always cites the *Republic* as ἡ Πολιτεία (see instances in Bonitz' *Index*, 613 b 21-25), O. Immisch, following a suggestion of Spengel's, punctuated in the Teubner edition (1909): καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς τέτταροι μόνον (ὥσπερ Πλάτων) ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις. This solution was adopted also by Ross (OCT, 1957), Rackham (Loeb ed.) and Jowett in the Oxford translation: "like Plato, in their books about the state, they recognize four only." It is not very satisfactory, because it depends entirely on the modern device of parentheses: even in a (post-Aristotelian) punctuated text a point after Πλάτων would hardly have

sufficed to prevent the obvious misunderstanding. If Aristotle meant what these editors try to make him say, he could simply have written: *καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς τέτταροι μόνον ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ὥσπερ Πλάτων*. A simpler way out of the difficulty is to understand *ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις* as "in his works on political theory," so as to include both the *Republic* and the *Laws*, cf. II 6, 1264 b 26-28 (*σχεδὸν δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν νόμους ἔχει τοὺς ὕστερον γραφέντας. διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πολιτείας ἐπισκέψασθαι μικρὰ βέλτιον*) and 1266 a 28-30 (*τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον*).

The other instance is Proclus, *In Timaeum* II 227.2-4 Diehl: *ἡ γοῦν ἰσότης ταυτότης τίς ἔστι. διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις [Legg. VI 757 a ss.] φιλίας εἶναι ποιητικὴν τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀπέφαινε. To refer to the *Republic*, Proclus always uses the singular; nor is he likely to have confused the *Laws* with the *Republic*, since his quotations are on the whole accurate, and he was familiar with the passage in question, which he cites repeatedly (*In Alcib. 3.6-9*; the immediate sequel *In Tim. II 78.28; 90.14; 198.18; 220.23*; *In Remp. I 289.2; II 263.11*). Festugière (Paris 1967) therefore translates: *Platon dans les "Constitutions,"* with a note referring to III 353.12 (*ἐν τοῖς πολιτεικοῖς σκέμμασιν*). The fact of the matter is that Diehl misplaced his reference, which ought to follow *ἀπέφαινε*, the sense being: "therefore Plato declared [*Laws* 757 a] that in commonwealths, too, arithmetic brings about friendship."*

In the school of Ammonius, son of Hermias, however (though not yet, as far as I have found, in Ammonius himself), the plural appears with considerable frequency, as the following list will show.

Olympiodorus, *In Gorgiam* (Leipzig 1970): plural 44.8; 64.3; 80.12; 164.6; 190.20; 221.14; 241.4; 12; 26 (singular 5 times). *In Meteora* (CAG XII 2): plural 100.20 (but singular 144.33). (*In Alcib.* and *In Phaed.* singular only.)

Asclepius, *In Nicomachum* (ed. Tarán, Philadelphia 1969) *τα* 68 and Philoponus, *In Nicomachum* (ed. Hoche, Wesel 1864) *τε* 43-44: plural. Philoponus revised Asclepius' commentary, which he copies in the present passage. (Asclepius, *In Metaphysica* [CAG VI 2], and Philoponus, *De aeternitate mundi*, use the singular throughout.)

Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy (Amsterdam 1962): plural 17.24; 26.6; 36; 27.9 (πολιτικῶν MS.); 27.29; singular 4 times.

Ps.-Elias, *In Isagogen* (Amsterdam 1967): plural 14.15 and 22.8 (singular twice).

Olympiodorus, Asclepius and Philoponus are all Alexandrians and pupils of Ammonius, Olympiodorus being probably the youngest of the three (495/505 - after 565). The unknown author of the *Prolegomena* can with some probability be assigned to the same time and place, while the equally unknown Ps.-Elias is later and seems to have taught at Constantinople. The difference in usage between one work and another, especially in the case of Olympiodorus, can be accounted for by the fact that these commentaries, which are not writings, but lectures, were taken down by different redactors. In other Olympiodoreans, Elias (CAG XVIII 1), David (CAG XVIII 2) and Stephanus (CAG XV, Book III), there are no examples of the plural at all. The sixth-century Athenians (Damascius, Simplicius) consistently use the singular.

The origin of the fashion is not easy to determine. It is not likely to have sprung from a misunderstanding of the passage in Aristotle's *Politica* discussed above, for this work, though theoretically it had its place in the curriculum, was not really a part of the teaching routine and therefore little known. A more probable cause is the custom, in introductions to philosophy in general and to Aristotelian philosophy in particular, of constructing a correspondence between Plato's and Aristotle's political writings, as in Ps.-Elias 22.8: ἔγραψε γάρ καὶ ἐκάτερος καὶ Πολιτικὸν καὶ Πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ Πολιτικῷ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσι σκοπόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ διαφωνοῦσιν. δὲ μὲν γάρ 'Αριστοτέλης συνῶν καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρωφ τῷ κτίστῃ <σν'> πολιτείας λέγεται μετ' αὐτοῦ περιελθεῖν, ὃν ἀνεγράφατο τὸν βίον... δὲ δὲ Πλάτων ἔγραψε Πολιτείαν, ἐν ἣ διαλέγεται πῶς χρὴ κρατεῖν καὶ τάπτειν πολιτείαν. It is true that Ps.-Elias is the latest of his group and that in the earlier parallel texts (Elias, *In Categ.* 116.20-23 and David, *In Isag.* 24.29-31) the wording is more accurate and Plato's work is referred to only in the singular. Yet the accepted practice of confronting the two, added to the fact that Plato

did, after all, deal at length with various kinds of constitutions, may have led to the use of the plural.

However this may be, the fact itself seems to justify the supposition, if such an inference can be drawn from the title alone, that Paris. gr. 1807 and its group derive from a sixth-century copy in the Alexandrian school.

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INTORNO AL CODICE PATAVINUS DI TEOCRITO

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Per il corpus dei Bucolici Greci, e per la storia della loro tradizione, costituisce un problema la testimonianza di un codice noto al Musuros, che si designa come *Patavinus deperditus*. È una questione già sollevata dall' Ahrens (1855) e da Eduard Hiller (1888); coinvolge anche la tradizione antologica degli epigrammi teocritei, e quindi dell' Antologia Planudea. Di questa, con l'abituale maestria e precisione, si è occupato ultimamente Alexander Turyn (ΕΕΒΣ, 1972-73, pp. 403-450); perciò dedico il mio scritto a Lui, in ricordo delle appassionate discussioni che molti anni fa, in Laurenziana e in Vaticana, ci trattenevano attorno ai tavoli ricolmi di codici greci.

(1). La principale testimonianza del *Patavinus* è fornita dall'edizione Giuntina di Teocrito, che fu stampata nella tipografia dei Giunta a Firenze, con la data del 10 gennaio 1516, a cura del fiorentino Eufrosino Bonino. Nella prefazione è riportata la lettera di un altro fiorentino, Filippo Pandolfini, indirizzata da Venezia al Bonino; poi è aggiunta la risposta inviata da Paolo Melas al Pandolfini; e in altra parte del volume, cioè nella prefazione al testo di Esiodo, è contenuta una lettera del Bonino a Giacomo Diaceto. Tutta questa corrispondenza serve ad illustrare i criteri e i mezzi con cui fu allestita la stampa di Teocrito.

Filippo Pandolfini scriveva così: ... διατρίβων Ἐνετίησι καὶ τῶν Μουσουρείων εἷς δὲ ἀκροατῶν ἐνέτυχον ἀντιγράφῳ τινὶ τῶν Θεοκρίτου εἰδυλλίων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μουσούρου τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιδιορθώσεως ἀξιοθέντι καθ' ὃν χρόνον, τοῖς ἐν Παταβίῳ σχολασταῖς τὴν Συρακουσίαν μούσαν φιλοφρόνως ἀναγνωρίζων τε καὶ ξεναγωγῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐπηγόρθου τὰ πρὸν ἐντυπωθέντα... ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὶ ἄλλα, τῇ μὲν ποιημάτια, τῇ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα Θεοκρίτου... προηγεν

είς φῶς, ἀναλεξάμενος ἐπὶ τινος ἀρχαιοτάτου βιβλίου, τὸ δ'
ἔλανθανεν ἀποκείμενον παρὰ Παύλῳ τῷ Βουκεφάλᾳ... Τοῦτο δὴ
τάντιγραφον ἀποπέμπομεν τοῖς περὶ Βέρναρδον τὸν Θιλίππου χαλ-
κογράφοις πολλαπλασιασθησόμενον... Nel seguito della lettera
il Pandolfini raccomanda che la tipografia di Bernardo Giunta
riproduca esattamente il testo secondo la copia inviata, κατὰ
ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν τῷδε παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχετύπῳ διηκριθωμένοις.

Dunque Filippo, frequentando il Musuro e le sue lezioni a Venezia, cioè negli anni tra il 1512 e il 1516, aveva trovato presso il maestro un manoscritto di Teocrito: era stato allestito dallo stesso Musuro a Padova, qualche anno prima, per un corso di lezioni sul poeta siracusano, cioè negli anni tra il 1503 e il 1509. In tale ἀντίγραφον il Musuro aveva migliorato l'edizione a stampa che era allora corrente, τὰ πολὺ ἐντυπωθέντα, cioè l'incunabolo Aldino del 1495, ed aveva aggiunto qualche altro componimento inedito, fra cui gli epigrammi teocritei (τῇ μὲν ποιημάτια, τῇ δ' ἐπιγράμματα). Questo materiale nuovo il Musuro lo aveva desunto da un codice antichissimo (ἀναλεξάμενος ἐπὶ τινος ἀρχαιοτάτου βιβλίου), appartenente ad un giovane padovano, Paolo Bucefalas (forse un Capivacci o Capodivacca, o forse un Buccaro o Bucari, ved. test.2).

È presumibile che l'invio del manoscritto avesse avuto il consenso del Musuro stesso. Questi ad ogni modo non compare direttamente in tutta la vicenda, ma lasciava fare al discepolo. Ed è opportuno sottolineare che il Pandolfini non vide il codice originale di Padova in casa del Musuro, ma trovò il manoscritto della silloge bucolica allestita dal Musuro e fornita di alcuni inediti; ed è questa la copia che mandò a Firenze per la Giuntina. Quanto al materiale contenuto nel Patavinus, si possono attribuire ad esso sicuramente gli Epigrammi, e vagamente qualche altro carme che compare nella Giuntina e che non era compreso nell'Aldina; inoltre spettano al Patavinus, oppure al Musuro, quei miglioramenti che presenta il testo della Giuntina rispetto all'Aldina nei carmi comuni ad entrambe. Le differenze della Giuntina, almeno in parte, possono derivare da collazioni con altri codici, ed anche da congetture personali, sia del Musuro, sia del Bonino; un controllo ci viene tuttavia fornito dall'altra edizione contemporanea (l'edizione romana di Zacaria Calliergo: ved. test.4).

Nella lettera di risposta al Pandolfini, scritta da un estimatore e uditore del Bonino, il romano Paolo Melas, questi cerca di minimizzare l'apporto che può offrire il manoscritto di Musuro per l'edizione di Teocrito preparata dal Bonino, e solo lo accetta come σύμμαχος per l'edizione fiorentina. Scrive con molto riguardo (per il nome di Marco Musuro) e con certa ammirazione marcata (per la 'mirabile' epistola del Pandolfini) Dice che il Bonino avrebbe voluto ritirare il proprio testo, un ἀδέκαστος ἀρχέτυπος da lui già preparato per la stampa, ed affidarsi interamente all'esemplare giuntogli da Venezia, che ha mostrato al Melas (ἀρχέτυπον δεῖξας τινά); ma Melas ha rifiutato (ὅπερ ποιεῖν οὐκ ἤξίωσα); quindi conclude che, dopo avere confrontato molti codici, τὸν σὸν ἀσπασίως ἐδεξάμεθα σύμμαχον ἡμετέρῳ, τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν δμοιότητα ἐπαινοῦντες, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ Βονίνου φρονήματι ἐπαρκοῦντες.

Da parte sua il Bonino, nella lettera a Giacomo Diaceto, illustra largamente la propria opera intesa a ripulire da ogni tabe il testo di Teocrito, ma non può fare a meno di accennare al sussidio che gli è stato offerto dal manoscritto del Musuro (*nec non et Venetiis a Marco Musuro recognitum exemplar sane castigatum cum castigatissimo nostro conferentes*).

(2). Un'altra menzione del Patavinus ricorre nel cosiddetto *Scholium Wechelianum*: prende il nome dall'edizione dell'Antologia Planudea degli epigrammi, che fu stampata dagli eredi Wechel nel 1600 a Francoforte. Questa edizione della Planudea ebbe larga diffusione,¹⁾ ed è fornita di ampi commenti; è anche nota perché si arricchisce di *Scholia Graeca*, in margine agli epigrammi dell'antologia. Sono scoli²⁾ di età umanistica, e sembrano da attribuirsi a Marco Musuro, almeno in parte. Per la stampa Wecheliana, come è detto nella prefazione, fu adoperato un manoscritto del Pithou, confrontato poi con un altro di Paolo Petau.

Lo scolio che qui c'interessa si riferisce ad un epigramma attribuito a Leonida nel primo libro dell'Antologia Planudea. Nei codici dei Bucolici è Theocr. ep. 14 (omesso nelle edizioni Giunta e Calliergi); corrisponde ad A.P. IX 435, dove è attribuito a Teocrito. A margine dell'epigramma, nell'ediz. Wechel p. 43, è stampata questa notizia: Θεοκρίτου ἐπίγραμμα ὡς εὑρηταὶ τινι / ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἀντιγράφῳ Παύλου τοῦ Βυκάρου ἐν Παταβίῳ.

Un secolo prima, la stessa annotazione ricorre in un codice milanese, che contiene solo il corpus degli *Scholia Graeca*, senza il testo degli epigrammi; viene datato al sec. XV nel catalogo di Martini-Bassi.³⁾ È il codice Ambros.gr.333 (= F 30 sup.), fol. 10^V, collazionato dal Calderini, cit., p. 245.

La stessa frase si legge manoscritta a margine, fra gli altri scoli del corpus, sopra un esemplare dell'edizione dell'Antologia Planudea conservato nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Berna. È un esemplare dell'ed. princeps, curata da Giano Lascari a Firenze nel 1494; e su di esso gli scoli manoscritti sembrano vergati dalla mano stessa di Marco Musuro (così H. Stadtmüller, *Anth. Gr.*, Lipsiae 1894, ad AP IX 435). In altro esemplare, già posseduto da Francesco d'Asolo, cognato di Aldo Manuzio, ed ora conservato nella Bibl. Nazionale di Parigi,⁴⁾ la stessa frase è scritta dalla mano di Aristobulo Apostolide, ossia Arsenio, figlio di Michele Apostolis.

Non c'è dubbio che lo *Scholium Wechelianum* si riferisca al Patavinus, cioè al codice "antichissimo" di Paolo Bucaro, o Bucefalas, che il Musuro mise a frutto per la sua "expositio Theocriti" nello Studio padovano; conteneva appunto gli Epigrammi, come sappiamo dalla testimonianza della Giuntina (ved. test. 1). Negli *Scholia Ambrosiana* e affini, come nell'edizione Wechel (p. 42 e 56), altre due annotazioni si riferiscono a Theocr. ep. 4 e 13, che nella Planudea si presentano con un testo incompleto. Sono gli epigrammi dell'Anth. Pal. IX 437 e VI 340, che hanno subito qualche dissesto nella tradizione antologica. Nel codice della Palatina sono smembrati e dispersi: il seguito di IX 437 è scritto dopo IX 432 (Theocr. ep. 6), e il seguito di VI 340 è scritto dopo IX 433 (Theocr. ep. 5). Da ciò derivano le lacune nella Planudea. Invece il testo dei due epigrammi è in ordine nella tradizione bucolica. Il primo è addirittura anonimo, ἄδηλον, nella Planudea (p. 42 Wechel); e qui l'annotazione scolastica precisa che è di Teocrito, e aggiunge i versi mancanti. L'altro epigramma porta il nome di Teocrito anche nella Planudea, ma il distico iniziale è omesso; e qui lo scolio rileva la lacuna, e trascrive i due versi mancanti.⁵⁾

Pare quindi che alla medesima fonte, cioè al codice patavino di Paolo Bucaro, siano da riportare tutti e tre gli scoli re-

lativi agli epigrammi 4, 14, 13 di Teocrito. Le varianti testuali dei versi mancanti nella Planudea, e addotti negli scoli per gli epigrammi 4 e 13, appartengono alla tradizione bucolica, e non a quella antologica. Se ne deduce quindi che il Patavinus doveva essere un codice della tradizione bucolica; probabilmente apparteneva a quel ramo caratteristico della tradizione teocritea, che ad un certo momento si era arricchito con il testo dei ventidue epigrammi. È il ramo che per noi fa capo al codice K, nell'età di Planude, a Costantinopoli; poi ricompare con il parigino D (e gli altri codici dello stesso gruppo) intorno al 1460-1480; si conclude con l'ambrosiano C, al tempo di Musuro, in Italia.

L'ombra del Patavinus si stende anche su questi codici del tardo Umanesimo, C e D, che contengono la più ampia silloge dei Bucolici, desunta da varie fonti: le varianti apportate in D da uno o più correttori, e il testo contaminato di C, presentano lezioni e congetture che sono caratteristiche della Giuntina e di Calliergi, e quindi ci conducono verso il Patavinus o verso il circolo di Musuro.

(3). Poiché il Patavinus conteneva gli Epigrammi, si farà qui menzione di un codice di Heidelberg, Palat.gr.341: nel volume miscellaneo sono compresi cinque fogli, che riguardano Teocrito, e in essi il testo degli Epigrammi è curiosamente preceduto da Theocr.26, vv.36-38, e poi seguito dall'intero carme 26, vv.1-38.

Questi fogli furono scritti nel Cinquecento, forse prima o forse dopo le due stampe del 1516. Il testo degli Epigrammi coincide sostanzialmente con quello delle due edizioni, e specialmente con la Giuntina. Al pari delle due stampe omette ep.14 e 16, che nell'Antologia Planudea sono attribuiti a Leonida; e omette anche il 19, come Calliergi; invece il Bonino, nella Giuntina, ha conservato o riammesso il 19 (attribuito a Teocrito nella Planudea e in Anth.Pal.). Nel codice di Heidelberg gli epigrammi sono disposti nello stesso ordine caratteristico della Giuntina, che ha portato il 15 dopo il 7 (perché questi due epigrammi hanno in comune il nome del defunto Euri-medonte), ed ha portato il 22 prima del 21 (senza apparente motivo). Si noti che l'accostamento di 7 e 15 corrisponde alla

loro inversa collocazione nella serie dell'Antologia Palatina, VII 659 e 658. Lo Smutny, che ha esaminato minutamente il testo epigrammatico dei fogli di Heidelberg, ritiene che risalga al di là delle due stampe, e cioè al manoscritto di Musuro, derivato dal Patavinus.⁶⁾ Comunque è certo che neppure il copista di quei fogli ha attinto direttamente dal Patavinus; ogni memoria o testimonianza del codice perduto, e la sua stessa definizione di ἀρχαίστατον βιβλίον (test.1 e 2), sembra che derivino dal circolo di Musuro.

(4). Al Musuro, e quindi al Patavinus, ci riconduce l'edizione romana di Zacaria Calliergo, pubblicata il 15 gennaio 1516. Ha il medesimo contenuto della Giuntina, in differente ordinamento dei carmi (e in più l'Ara di Dosiade); e presenta in buon numero caratteristiche lezioni comuni con la Giuntina.

Il Calliergi, prima che a Roma, soggiornò a Venezia e poi a Padova, nei primi anni del Cinquecento, quando vi insegnava il Musuro.⁷⁾ Fece collazioni di diversi codici per allestire la sua edizione di Teocrito, e la arricchi di un corpus scolastico, desunto ἐκ διαφόρων ἀντιγράφων. Dalla concordanza del suo testo con la Giuntina si deve arguire che ebbe presente una copia dello stesso o analogo testo di Musuro, che servì per la Giuntina.

Che il Calliergi non dipenda direttamente dal Patavinus, e che in ogni caso dipenda dal Musuro, si deduce dalla menzione che è fatta del Musuro nella stampa romana, a proposito dell'*Epitafio di Bione* (M 3), al v. 92: Μᾶρκος δὲ Μουσοῦρος ἔλεγε τοι-αῦτά τινα λείπειν, e qui di seguito sono riportati sei versi, contrassegnati con asterischi (ved. test. 6). Il contesto del carme appariva alterato nella tradizione manoscritta e nella stampa Aldina;⁸⁾ quindi i sei versi additizi (vv. 92 a-f) furono abilmente fabbricati dal Musuro, per risarcire la presunta lacuna. Sono assenti dalla Giuntina, che annota soltanto l'esistenza di una lacuna per mezzo della parola λείπει. Sono invece inseriti nell'edizione Ursiniana del 1568⁹⁾ con l'attribuzione a Musuro, cioè con il suo nome in genitivo, Μουσούρου. Lo Stefano, nei *Poetae Principes Heroici Carminis* (1566), annotava il testo del carme a p. 273: τοὺς στίχους οὓς δὲ Μουσοῦρος τὰ λείποντα ἀνεπλήρωσε, ζήτει κατὰ τὸ τέλος τούτων τῶν εἰδυλλίων (cioè a

p.487 del libro, dove sono riportati per memoria i sei versi). Tuttavia avvenne che, eliminando il nome di Musuro, i sei versi furono inseriti nel testo di manoscritti e stampe senza alcuna riserva; e così avenne che furono ritenuti antichi e genuini fino all'inizio dell'Ottocento, ed anche oltre.¹⁰⁾

(5). Al circolo padovano del Musuro ci riportano altre fonti, che alludono ad un *codex antiquissimus* di Teocrito, e che sono collegabili fra loro:

- a) il codice Salmanticus 295, su carta filigranata di fabbrica genovese, nel primo quarto del sec.XVI; è scritto da Nonius Pinçianus, ossia Fernán Núñez de Guzmán, la cui mano è stata riconosciuta dal Tovar, e senza alcuna incertezza, a quanto pare;¹¹⁾
- b) il codice Bruxellensis 18974, del sec.XVI, scritto dal gesuita Andrea Schott, e descritto nell'elenco dei codici teocritei dal Wendel;¹²⁾
- c) un codice "Toletanus", su cui riferisce Andrea Schott negli *Observationum humanarum libri*, Antverpiae 1616, pp.94-99.

Anzitutto si istituisce il confronto fra i due manoscritti di Salamanca e di Brüssel, che collazionai a suo tempo: il loro testo è identico. Si tratta di una serie di *Emendationes in nonnulla loca Theocriti depravata, ex codice antiquissimo*. Questo è il titolo del quaderno. Gli emendamenti, insieme a congetture umanistiche e a chiose latine, riguardano gli idilli 1-7, 9-18, Mosco 3-2-1, Bione 1, 20, 21. Come appare dai lemmi a cui segue la correzione o la variante, si rapportano ad un testo di redazione sostanzialmente uguale all'incunabolo Aldino (che contiene 1-18, M 3-2-1, 19, B 1, 20, 21, M 4, 22, 23, Syrinx, Adon); ma era un manoscritto.¹³⁾

Altro materiale di studio, oltre le *Emendationes*, era stato raccolto dal diligente scrittore. Nei ff.1-45 del manoscritto di Salamanca si trova una copia di *Scholia vetera* a Theocr. 1-18 nella redazione Vaticana; e poi, dopo le *Emendationes* dei ff.46-56^r, segue una copia degli usuali *Prolegomeni teocritei* e degli *scoli* di Moscopulo a Theocr. 1-8 nei ff.56^r-105^r. Nel manoscritto di Brüssel, di cui avanzano quattro fogli (numerati 102-105), rimangono soltanto le ultime righe degli *Scholia vetera* nell'identico testo di Salamanca, e dopo le *Emendationes* i *Prolegomeni* (fino agli epigrammi Ga, Gb, H, e il brano B sulla εὐφεσίς τῆς βουκολικῆς), dove il testo è interrotto per l'asportazione degli ultimi fogli. Qui fu dunque conservato soltanto il fascicolo delle *Emendationes*; ed è appunto questo fascicolo di maggiore pregio, che più tardi servì allo Schott (ved. test.8).

Il codice di Brüssel, che è più recente dell'altro, appare più accurato formalmente. Per esempio, fra lemma e variante, ha cura di scrivere la sigla γρ(άφεται), anche se l'altro qualche volta la tralascia (20 v.39; B 1 v.69); oppure inserisce nel testo qualche annotazione, che nell'altro è scritta a margine (15 v.72 e 95). Ma la coincidenza fra i due testi è totale; solo in qualche punto la trascrizione del Tovar, per il ms. di Salamanca, non è esatta. Perciò noto che in entrambi, nel carme 6 v.29, è scritto *hic versus emendetur sic* (e non *emendatur*), e in 15 v.27: *intelligendum est quod Eunoa iussu dominae attulerat aquam* (non *iussa*). Nell'Europa di Mosco (M 2), al v.88, non è scritto ἀντί come variante, ma in entrambi αύτά, e cioè: ἀντα γρ(άφεται) αύτά. Difatti la lezione di Calliergi è αύτά, suggerita dall'incunabolo Aldino (αύτα), mentre la vulgata era ἀντα (dal codice planudeo S), oppure ἀντυος (ripetuta nella Giuntina).

Per qualche indizio direi che il ms. di Schott è copiato sul testo di Nonius direttamente, oppure attraverso un'identica copia, il che fa lo stesso. Il titolo del c.12 è stato aggiunto a margine da Nonius (ἢλθες ὃ φίλε principium edyllij), invece nel Brux. è al giusto posto ed è scritto al centro. Il titolo del c.14 è χαίρειν πολλὰ τὸν nel Salm., ma nel Brux. l'articolo è omesso. Notevole è il commento a 15 v.25; nei due mss. coincide fino ad un certo punto: ὃν εἰδες etc(etera) *i(dest)* omnia Ptolomaei sunt ὀλβια, ἥ(you)ν ὀλβιότατα (*ut sit positivus pro superlativo*) ὃν εἰδες *i(dest)* vidisti, χ' ὃν εἶπας ἵδοῦσα τὸν τῷ μὴ ἴδοντι, ma poi continuano divergendo, a Nonius ha scritto: *i(dest)* quae {posses cancellato} narrare modificato in *narraveris* [sic] forte *vidisse te et* [sic?] *qui non vidit*. Invece lo Schott ha scritto pulitamente: *i(dest)* quae *narraveris* fortasse *vidisse te ei qui non vidit*. Subito dopo, Nonius scrive *Croessi et Midae divitias*, e lo Schott invertendo *Midae et Croessi*.

(6). Per il testo di Teocrito è irrilevante, rispetto ai codici e alle antiche edizioni esistenti, l'apporto di queste *Emendationes*.¹⁴⁾ Ma un buon numero di lezioni caratteristiche, introdotte in esse con la sigla γρ(άφεται), sta a dimostrare un sostanziale rapporto con il testo delle due edizioni del 1516; quindi sono importanti per la storia della tradizione, perché, come Bonino e Calliergi, possono condurci sulle tracce del *Patavinus deperditus*.

Qualche volta concordano con la sola Giuntina. È sintomatica, per esempio, la coincidenza di *Emendationes* con la Giuntina nella scrittura ἔκαιν', in B 1 v.82, contro la giusta lezione ἔβαιν' di tutte le altre fonti. Ma più

spesso coincidono con Calliergi in lezioni tipiche: μάκτραν (4,61), ἔτοίμα (B 1,69), δ' ὁζὸν λέγοντε (B 1,93), ἄτε (20,43), χαλέψας (21,51), quando la Giuntina segue la vulgata o congettura per conto suo (21,51 χαλεπῶς, contro il trādito χαλέψας). Già ho avuto occasione qui sopra, di citare M 2 v.88 per la lezione αὐτά, che è tipica di Calliergi, non della Giuntina.

Aggiungo ad esempio altre varianti istruttive del c.18 di Teocrito. La vulgata aveva prodotto per il v.5 la lezione Τυνδαρίδα κατελέξατο nei due incunaboli del 1481 e 1495; la Giuntina invece ha stampato Τυνδαρέαν κατελέξατο, ma Calliergi Τυνδαρέω κατειλάζετο, e così le *Emendationes* hanno scritto: Τυνδαρίδα κατελέξατο γρ. Τυνδαρέω κατειλάζετο. Al v.21 dicono così: τίκτεν γρ. τίκτοι, e solo nella stampa di Calliergi si rileva la lezione τίκτοι scritta sopra il rigo (τίκτεν^{οι}). La vulgata è τίκτεν, compresa Aldina e Giuntina, mentre alcuni codici hanno τίκτει insieme al papiro di Antinoe. Al v.41 le *Emendationes* scrivono così: τεὰ γρ. τεῦ ὅ. Qui si noti che τεὰ è la lezione dei due incunaboli, milanese e Aldino, come di un gruppo di codici secondari (a cui appartiene anche il parigino D per questa parte della silloge). Altri codici hanno τεοῦ, e la Giuntina τεοῦς insieme ad un codice Vaticano (U) e al papiro di Antinoe; la lezione τεῦ ὅ è solo di Calliergi. Poco dopo, al v.48, si legge così nelle *Emendationes*: ταῦτ' εἰδῆ γρ. ἀνγνοίη, e la variante è una lezione tipica di Calliergi. Questi ha sostituito con un sinonimo (ἀναγνώσω) il verbo ἀνανέμω nel senso di "leggere" che il contesto richiede. Infatti la lezione ἀννείμη è presente nei codici migliori, anche se in alcuni è scritta male (ἀν νείμη, ἀν μείνη, ἀννείπη); nella Giuntina è scritto esattamente ἀννείμη. La lezione ταῦτ' εἰδῆ appartiene ad un gruppo di codici secondari, fra cui D come ho detto, e quindi è passata anche ai due incunaboli del 1481 e del '95. Invece nel v.55, μήτι λάθησθε γρ. μή 'πιλάθησθε, il lemma coincide con D e con Calliergi; i due incunaboli hanno μήτι λάθησαι. La variante μή 'πιλάθησθε appartiene alla vulgata, alla Giuntina (μή πιλάθησθε) e al papiro di Antinoe (μηπιλάθησθε).

Il quaderno delle *Emendationes* non ripete l'una o l'altra edizione del 1516, ma neppure dipende dal Patavinus direttamente; riflette piuttosto una redazione del testo teocriteo già elaborata da qualche umanista o dallo stesso Calliergi, nel circolo padovano di Marco Musuro, e alla scuola di lui. Sembrano appunti di una *Expositio Theocriti*, per tutte le chiose esegetiche in esse raccolte. Sono un studio filologico del testo, come dimostrano le duplice varianti che a volte seguono ad unico lemma, o quelle che sembrano desunte dagli *Scholia vetera*. Ma è

materiale tralaticio, con molti errori grafici. E tuttavia sono passate attraverso il vaglio del Musuro; lo dimostra l'annotatione che presentano nell'*Epitafio di Bione*, M 3 v.92: *post hunc versum debent sequi* ("dovrebbero seguire") *sequentes omnes*

πάντες δοσις καπυρὸν τελέθει στόμα βουκολιασταῖς ἐκ Μοισᾶν, σέο πότμον ἀνακλαίουσι θανόντος.
κλαίει Σικελίδας τὸ Σάμου κλέος, ἐν δὲ Κύδωσιν δὲ πρὶν μειδιόντι σὺν ὅμματι φαιδρός ιδέσθαι δάκρυα νῦν Δυκίδας κλαίων χέει, ἐν τε πολίταις Τριτοπίδαις ποταμῷ θρηνεῖ παρ' Ἀλεντὶ Φιλητᾶς.

(con chiose a margine che rimandano alle *Talisie* di Teocrito per la spiegazione dei nomi e del frasario). Sono appunto i sei versi che nella stampa del Callieri appaiono marcati di asterisco e attribuiti all'inventiva del masetro: Μᾶρκος δὲ Μουσοῦρος ἔλεγε τοιαῦτα τινα λείπειν (ved. test. 4).

(7). Da tutto ciò si ricava una conclusione, che è la più verisimile a mio parere: l'espressione *ex codice antiquissimo*, nel titolo delle *Emendationes*, non significa che il vantato codice antichissimo fu veramente visto da chi scrisse quel quaderno di varianti, annotazioni, congetture, e chiose. Quella espressione deve essere valutata piuttosto come una formula approssimativa, che corrisponde al modo con cui il Pandolfini (test.1) alludeva al *Patavinus*, ἀρχαιότατον βιβλίον.¹⁵⁾

Un'altra osservazione, che si deve fare, riguarda in maniera speciale l'*Europa* di Mosco (M 2), a cui si riferisce una lunga serie di emendamenti nel quaderno di Nonius e di Schott. Buona parte delle correzioni registrate sono lezioni comuni della vulgata; rimediano semplicemente ai banali errori grafici presenti nel codice di base, a cui appartengono i lemmi: ποιμένετε γρ. ποιμαίνετε, θνητὸν γρ. θητὸν, ἐπομένη γρ. ἐσπομένη. Si veda la trascrizione di Tovar per i vv.5, 6, 17-19, 23, 30, 38, 56-58, 60, 69, 71, 72, 94, 95, 107, 112, 130, 141, 146, 165. Negli altri casi il lemma è generalmente la lezione vulgata dall'incunabolo Aldino (che deriva dalla redazione S di Planude), mentre la variante registrata coincide con il testo di Giuntina e Callieri, ossia è la lezione adottata nell'antigrafo di Musuro (v.2 τρίτον γρ. τρίτατον, 77 δὴ γάρ γρ. τοι γάρ, 123 βαθύρροοι γρ. βαθύρροοι); oppure la variante coincide con il solo Callieri anche in manifeste congetture erronee: 67 θαλέθεσκε γρ. πίπτεσκε, 96 κύσε γρ. κύε, 109 ἀνεπίλατο γρ. ἀνεπίλνατο, 119 ἀντεχάνωντο γρ. ἀντοχέωντο (contro la lezione ἐστιχάνων della vulgata, compresa la Giuntina, mentre ἀντεχάνωντο è la lezione dell'Aldina). Al v.51 il lemma è come al solito dell'Aldina, e la variante

è di Callieri (εἶναι ληγίστην δι' γρ. ἐς καλλίστην δ'): l'Aldina aveva ripetuto la scrittura di Planude (S), mentre gli altri codici del Duecento (Bas, F, M) presentano la lezione εἰναλίης τὴν δ', con o senza δ', che si trova ripetuta nella Giuntina; la congettura giusta fu trovata molto più tardi dal Pierson (πόρτιος Ἰωαχίης, τὴν δ'), mediante il solo scambio di Λ/Χ, ossia Ἰωαχίης in luogo del tramandato εἰναλίης.

Orbene, la presenza stessa dell'*Europa* nel fascicolo degli emendamenti è un indizio della maggiore evidenza per giudicare che il titolo di *Emendationes ex codice antiquissimo* è espressione tralaticia e molto vaga, che non corrisponde alla realtà delle cose. Anzitutto è evidente che per il testo dell'*Europa* si tratta solo di lezioni secondarie e congetture umanistiche, che provengono dalla scuola di Musuro e di Callieri. Ma occorre inoltre notare che questo epillio di *Europa* ha seguito una sua propria traietà nella tradizione bizantina; si trova scritto isolatamente in molti codici miscellanei; i più antichi sono quelli del Duecento, che usiamo per la costituzione del testo; anche i codici antologici di Planude (S) e del suo ambiente (M) non hanno aggregato l'*Europa* ai carmi teocritei, ma la presentano distinta in altra parte del volume. È un epillio che non appartiene alle famiglie primarie dei codici teocritei, e neppure all'ampia silloge bucolica e tricliniana (R, W, V), né alla silloge umanistica del codice D nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Solo la stampa Aldina del 1495, o negli stessi anni un manoscritto di Costantino Lascari (ora a Madrid, nr. 4607), inseriscono l'*Europa* fra i carmi di Teocrito e dei Bucolici; e dall'Aldina la ricevette la più vasta silloge del codice C nei primi del Cinquecento.

Nel quadro generale della tradizione, che ci è nota in parte allo stadio papiraceo, ma ampiamente nella tarda età bizantina e preumanistica, non ci è possibile immaginare un codice "antico" di Teocrito o dei Bucolici che contenga l'*Europa*. Quindi è chiaro che, chiunque scrisse per primo il fascicolo delle *Emendationes*, non aveva davanti agli occhi un codice unitario, più o meno antico, ma solo la variopinta materia di una pubblica *Expositio Theocriti*, o semplici appunti di studio sopra il testo dei Bucolici. Sotto la generica etichetta di *codex antiquissimus* veniva conglobato materiale antico e recente, e non solo bucolico ed epigrammatico, ma anche eterogeneo; e tale doveva essere di fatto la redazione del testo preparato da Marco Musuro. Così le *Emendationes* ci mostrano quale era stata la complessa natura e la varia origine di quel testo che Musuro elaborò per

Teocrito ed i Bucolici, e che attraverso la sua scuola e il suo antigrafo giunse alle stampe del 1516. Quando una lezione delle due stampe coincide con l'emendamento di Salamanca, dobbiamo attribuirla all'antigrafo di Musuro; ma su tali fonti non possiamo definire esattamente che cosa fosse, e quale estensione avesse, quel celebrato codice *Patavinus* di cui parla la reclamistica lettera di Filippo Pandolfini (test. 1).

(8). Le varianti testuali delle *Emendationes* compongono il medesimo materiale di novità, che lo Schott espone nella sua opera a stampa (*Observationum humanarum libri V*), pubblicata nel 1616. Lo Schott lo attribuisce ad un antico manoscritto *Toletanus*, cioè ad uno dei codici che esaminò e studiò a Toledo, dove fu professore per qualche anno dopo il 1580.¹⁶⁾ È una scelta delle varianti più notevoli; contengono in più due varianti all'idillio 28 (ignoto alle *Emend.*); comprendono anche i sei versi additizi dell'*Epitafio di Bione*. Così scrive lo Schott in *Obs. hum.* p.99:

nactus olim virgula quasi divina, Toleti Carpetanorum cum degerem, veterem Theocriti libri calamo exaratum, nihil duxi antiquius quam una cum Pet. Pantino, eruditissimo Belga, conferrem atque componerem ad Germanicam, qua utebar, editione.¹⁷⁾ Ecce tibi statim in limine plura melioraque in eo chirographo de Theocriti genere occurrerant¹⁸⁾ ... mox amplius de aetate, qua floruit poeta sub Ptolomaeis, haec cum gaudio repperi. In extremo vero opere haec Epigrammatis adscripta, ὀνέιδοτα hactenus, vetus ille codex continebat, quae posteritati ferre expensa placuit [e qui segue il testo di *Prol. Ga H* Wendel, cioè due epigrammi dei Prolegomeni teocritei].

Tutto il materiale teocriteo, che lo Schott presenta nel suo libro alle pp.94-99, coincide con il testo delle *Emendationes*, ossia con i ff.102-105 del ms. di Brüssel, ancor oggi superstite. Si legge in essi anche il brano sulla vita di Teocrito (non *in limine*, ma alla fine), e il testo dei due epigrammi (quello di Artemidoro, Ga, e l'altro anonimo, H, ὡπερ οὐκόπος). Due o tre varianti in più, rispetto alle *Emend.*, non sono altro che aggiunte occasionali; ma tutto il resto appare desunto da quello stesso fascicolo delle *Emend.*, che sono scritte dalla mano di Andrea Schott nei fogli di Brüssel, e che erano già scritte da Nonius nel cod. di Salamanca.

Cito ad esempio *Obs. hum.* p.94 per l'idillio 2 v.70: *in vetere codice quo sum usus Toleti Θευμερίδα πινευπατούρ.* (Una duplice variante è segnalata in *Emend.*: Θευχαρίλα γρ. Θευμαρίδα vel Θευμερίδα). Per il 4 al v.28: *vetus liber ἐπαῖσας*, (61) μάκτρων *habet vetus noster codex.* (Sono le stesse varianti delle *Emend.*, qui in seguito; si veda la trascrizione del Tovar, cit., p.24 sgg.). Così per l'idillio 5 v.27: *in vetere codice repperi δῆλετ' ὀμέλγεν*, (95) *diserte scriptum inveni λεπρόν*, (95) *δῆν scriptus liber cum δ' ut pro θεός δεός, οὐθὲν οὐδέν* (è la stessa curiosa annotazione che si legge in *Emend.*).

Noto una divergenza per 7 v.55: *illie vidi scriptum ὅππάμενον moxque v.60 ὄρνίχων*. Invece le *Emend.* danno la variante ὅππάμενον, che coincide con il solo Callieri, ma niente per il v.60, dove la vulgata è ὄρνίχων, mentre la lezione ὄρνίθων risale a Moscopulo ed è ripetuta nelle prime stampe. A pp.97-98 lo Schott riprende l'elenco delle lezioni: *in Th. variae iterum scripturae de vetere codice*. E per il carme 13 annota ἔξελνων (15), ὀμφεδόνησεν ή ὀμφερόβησεν (48), *mox εἴπεν ἐταίροις* (51). Per il carme 14 v.35: ὀνειρύσασα δὲ πέπλως. Poi aggiunge due varianti, che alle *Emend.* sono ignote: (40) ἀγείτρεν, (46) *κέναρματ*. Ma la prima è solo uno svarione per ἀγείρειν, comune a tutta la tradizione; ed anche per la seconda non esistono divergenze nei codici e nelle stampe antiche.

Più avanti, per il 17, registra *αἰολομίτραις* (19), e per il 18 al v.6 *μναστεύσας*. Per il 20 v.39 scrive in accordo con le *Emend.*, ma poi rileva la lezione *εἰς ἐν* ignota alle *Emend.* e a tutta la tradizione: *λάτμιον ἀν νάτος ἥλθε καὶ εἰς ἔνα παιδί οὐδευδε, cod. vetus εἰς ἐν praeferit*. Dà pure due varianti per il carme 28, come ho accennato: (2) *γυναιξὶ πόνος*, (21) *έραστήν*. Sono entrambe ignote ai codici e alle stampe antiche: *πόνος* può essere una buona congettura, ed era proprio una congettura dello Scaligero, a cui lo Schott ora intende di dare lustro; ma *έραστήν* invece di *Μήλατον έράννων* è solo uno svarione.

Occorre notare specialmente il commento esegetico delle *Emend.* all'idillio 15 v.25, che ho già citato qui sopra (ved. test.5). Ora lo Schott, a p.98 di *Obs. hum.*, spiega il significato del verso così:

de vetere codice sic sensum reddo: *Omnia Ptolomaei sunt ὅλβια, ἥγουν ὅλβιότατα* (ut sit positivus pro superlativo) quae vidisti, quae narraveris fortasse vidisse ei qui non vidit.

Dunque spiega il senso con le stesse parole che aveva scritte nel quaderno di Brüssel, e dice che in questo modo lo spiega *de vetere codice*. Ma è solo un'autocitazione. L'esegesi consiste nell'assumere *ὅλβια* con il valore di superlativo (giustificando in questo modo erroneo i genitivi che seguono, *ἄν εἰδες, χ' ἄν εἴπας*), e nel ripetere la spiegazione di un antico scolio (*διηγήσαιο ἄν*) assumendo quel *χ'* come particella potenziale *κε.* (19)

Dunque il *vetus codex* non è altro che il quaderno delle *Emendationes* scritte dallo Schott e coincidenti con quelle di Nonius, forse anche queste passate per Toledo o elaborate a Toledo dal Nonius, verso il 1520. Si vedano i dati raccolti da Geanakoplos, cit., pp.223-255, sulla partecipazione di Nonius all'impresa della Bibbia poliglotta di Alcalà. Da quando il Tovar ci ha indicato che il *Salmanticus* 295 fu scritto nel primo quarto del Cinquecento (e non del Seicento, come si credeva), e dopo che abbiamo constatato la coincidenza del *Bruxellensis* di Schott con il *Salmanticus* di Nonius, nonché la coincidenza del *Bruxellensis* con il *Toletanus* delle *Obs. hum.* dello stesso Schott, mi sembra difficile attribuire qualche consistenza al vanto che nelle *Obs. hum.* menava lo Schott, *nactus olim virgula quasi divina*

Toleti... veterem Theocriti librum. Se il codice cosidetto Toletanus esistesse veramente, a Toledo o altrove, certo non era né *vetus* né *antiquissimus*: doveva essere un manoscritto passato al vaglio di Musuro e di Calliergi, per tutti i motivi qui sopra indicati, e in particolare perché conteneva i sei versi additizi in M 3. A tal riguardo lo Schott scrive così in *Obs. hum. p.96: sex hi versus a Marco Musuro, homine doctissimo, quod desiderarentur adiecti, erant integre scripti in veteri libro* [cioè nel Toletanus] *et agnovit Ios. Scaliger e Cod. scripto nobilissimi viri Lud. Castanei.*²⁰⁾

(9). Qui sorge, come si vede, la favola di un altro codice antico di Teocrito. Di questo codice, in possesso di Ludovico Castagna, avevano parlato il Mureto (1526-1585) e poi lo Scaligero, citato dallo Schott nel 1616. Si era voluto dimostrare che i sei versi additizi dell'*Epitafio di Bione* erano più antichi del Musuro e quindi autentici. Anzi i versi diventavano sette, perché a quelli del Musuro ne veniva premesso un altro, e piuttosto brutto (πάντοθε οὐλαύσει σ' ἡ νῆσος Σικελή τ' Ἀρέθουσα), mentre i sei del Musuro sono eccellenti per la struttura ritmica. Al Mureto prestò fede Giuseppe Giusto Scaligero nei suoi commenti teocritei, pubblicati con l'edizione Commeliniana di Heidelberg (1596) e poi con la successiva Commeliniana a cura di Daniel Heinse (1604). Più tardi il Valckenaer, nel commento a *Carmina Bucolica* (1810, p.361), ed anche nell'edizione dell'*Epitafio* annesso al libro 22 dell'*Iliade*, difese la bontà dei sei versi considerandoli genuini; rifiutava solamente quel primo verso, che era stato in malo modo premesso ai sei (*designat ipse Scaliger Cod. in quo sex versus genuinos antecedebat alius non eadem mone- ta cusus*). A questo punto intervenne la reprimenda del Naeke (1827), che ricordò la vicenda dei sei versi *levissimae auctori- tatis*, restituendoli al Musuro e denunciando la frode del Mureto. Forse c'era soltanto leggerezza e vanagloria in Marc-Antoine Muret, come in parecchi altri umanisti e dotti, rivali fra di loro, e appassionati nel celebrare la scoperta di codici vetusti, di grande pregio. Il Valckenaer aveva scritto:

hic versus et quinque sequentes, ut abeunt a Cod. Paris. quem ad-
hibuit Villoisonus, aberant ab Ald. exemplaribus: cum ex aliis Codd.
essent editi, Fulv. tamen Ursinus aliique crediderunt a Marco Musuro
conditos ad explendam lacunam, sed monuit Ios. Scaliger a Musuro hos
versus et a M. Ant. Mureto repertos in vetustissimis fuisse codicibus.

Ma il Naeke non si lascia convincere, o non si lascia inganare, e così ribatte (*Opusc.* I p.165):

Valckenarius bis propugnavit pro versibus levissimae auctoritatis. Verum Valckenarium Scaliger, Scaligerum confidentem fecerat impudentia Mureti... Scaligero Muretus tamquam malus genius additus, et alio tempore fraudem fecit, et Moschi codicem mentitus est, qui codex aut nullus usquam fuit, aut, quum vetustissimum diceret Muretus, longe fuit recentissimus.

(10). Meno nota è la testimonianza di un altro παλαιὸν ἀντίγραφον o di *vetusta exemplaria*, che completavano le lacune della tradizione manoscritta di Teocrito e dei Bucolici. Ce la fornisce Federico Morel, con la sua edizione parziale di Teocrito del 1585. La notizia relativa a questa stampa parigina del 1585 è compresa nell'indice delle antiche edizioni redatto da H.L. Ahrens (*Buc. Gr.*, vol.I, p.lxii sq.); ma è di seconda mano, e quindi presenta qualche incertezza. Io conosco il libro da un esemplare della Biblioteca Vaticana.

È un fascicolo in 4°, di 24 fogli numerati (pagine 48), che subito annuncia gli ἀναστόμενα nel titolo in greco del frontespizio: Θεοκρίτου τοῦ Συρακοσίου εἰδύλλια τινα ἀναστόμενα, e un più lungo titolo in latino: ...idyllia aliquot, in quibus quae ad hanc usque diem desiderabantur vetus torum exemplarium ope restituta sunt (Lutetiae, Apud Federicum Morellum Typographum Regium, via Iacobaea ad insigne Fontis. - M.D.LXXXV. Ex Privilio Regio). Nel foglio di guardia contiene l'epigramma ἄλλος δὲ Χτος (Prol. G b Wendel), quindi i carmi 24, 17 (con *hypoth.*), 16, 25, 27, M 3, poi la presentazione editoriale (f.23^V), in fine Prol. B a (περὶ εὑρέσεως τῶν βουκολικῶν), C a-b, gli epigrammi H, G a (cioè ὥσπερ οὐκόφος e quello di Artemidoro), e come colophon un distico dell'editore, che trascrivo qui avanti.

Tranne i carmi 16 e 17, gli altri quattro erano o si ritenevano lacunosi nelle edizioni dell'epoca, e qui vengono integrati completamente (e maleamente) per mezzo di una copia manoscritta di Nicolò Maiorana, che ci è noto come custode della Biblioteca Vaticana verso la metà del Cinquecento. La copia del Maiorana era giunta a Parigi dall'Italia per mano di Francesco Laroche-Foucault, vescovo di Clermont. Di ciò il Morel dà un preciso ragguaglio nell'indirizzo al lettore, che è stampato in calce (f.23^V):

Φεδερῖκος φιλοθεοκρίτῳ χαίρειν.

Οὐ πάντα μὲν δὴ, φιλοθεόκριτε Βέλτιστε, τὰ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου εἰ- / δύλλια χαρίζεται σοι αὕτη ἡ ἔκδοσις ἡμετέρα. ἄλλα γε τὰ / μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐλλιπῆ, ἐκτελῆ ταῦτα παρέχει, ὥστε τέλος μύθῳ ἐπι- / θῆσαι. χάριτι δήπου καὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ πολυμα- / θεστάτου Φραγκίσκου 'Ρουπιφουκαλδίου Κλαρομοντανῶν 'Επισκόπου.

δστις / ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν ἀποδημίᾳ παρὰ λαμπροτάτου κυρίου τοῦ / Νικολάου Μαιωρανοῦ παράδειγμα χειρόγραφον τῶνδ' ἀνα- πληρωμάτων²¹⁾ / παρέλαβε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτων ἀντίγραφον, ὡσ- περεὶ παρακαταθήκην τινὰ / φιλτάτην, ἀνιών ἐμοὶ ἔδωκεν. ἔνπερ ἐκῶν ἀποδίδωμι σοι, πεποιθώς / ὅτι σὺ κάκείνοις τῆς μεγαλο- πρεποῦς εὐεργεσίας, κάμοι τῆσδ' ἐμοῦ / πρὸς σὲ εύνοίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης χάριν ἔξεις οὐκ ἄχαριν. τοὺς δὲ / Ἰωαχίμῳ τῷ Καμεραρίῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσάπτοντας ἔπη, πολλὰ / χαίρειν ἔδσεις. ἔρδωσι, σεμνὴ κεφαλή.

Il particolare più interessante è qui alla fine, dove si allude all'edizione teocritea del Camerario (Haganoae 1530, apud Ianum Seckerium, in 8°). Questi aveva per lo più seguito l'edizione del Calliergi (dove sono indicate esplicitamente le lacune di Theocr. 24 e 25: λείπει τὸ τέλος τοῦ παρ- δόντος εἰδυλλίου, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐπομένου, ὅπερ ἔξανθει ἐπιγράφεσθαι Ἡρα- κλῆς λεονταφόνος). Quindi il Camerario ripubblica i testi, integrando il finale del 24 e costruendo l'inizio del 25. Questi brani, che nell'edizione di Hagenau sono stampati alla fine del volume dopo una serie di annotazioni greche e di varianti testuali, giunsero a conoscenza dello Scaligero attraverso il famigerato codice del Castagna qui sopra ricordato. Ora il Morel, sulla base di un παράδειγμα del Maiorana, e cioè di un codice che neppure ha visto, ritiene antichi e genuini questi ἀνατηρήματα, quindi invita il lettore a trascurare del tutto, πολλὰ χαίρειν ἔδσεις, l'opinione di chi attribuiva quei brani alla penna e alla inventiva del Camerario. Il Morel vuole dunque, con il suo libro, porre un fine alle dicerie, τέλος μύθῳ ἐπιτήσσαι. Ed è tanto sicuro di avere reso un servizio a Teocrito attribuendogli quei brutti versi, ed è così fiero della sua impresa editoriale (o così lieto della speculazione), da esaltarla con questo epigramma conclusivo (f. 24^V): Εἰς τήνδε Θεοκρίτου ἔκδοσιν.

Πρόσθε Θεόκριτος ἡν ἀτελής, ἥδ' ἔκδοσις αύτῷ
νῦν κεφαλὴν ἀπέδω, σύν τε χέρεσσι πόδας.

Φεδ. Μόρελλος Τ.Β.

Il papiro di Antinoe, pubblicato da A. Hunt (1930), ci ha mostrato quale era il finale di Theocr. 24, con i vv. 141-172, che mancano nei nostri codici. Quindi non vale la pena di indugiare sul testo offerto dal Morel; questi inserisce uno strambo verso (ἴα δὲ ἐν χειμῶνι, θέρει, ὥρῃσι τε πάσαις) dopo il v. 139, e poi, dopo il v. 140, sulla fede dell'antigrafo di Maiorana, aggiunge un brano narrativo di conclusione; annota che ἔλειπε μέχρι τοῦδε τοιαῦτα, cioè che fino ad ora mancavano questi suoi vv. 141-176.

L'epillio 25 ha qui il titolo inventato da Calliergi, Ἡρακλῆς λεοντο- φόνος, ma il Morel ne aggiunge un altro, ed annota pomposamente che κατά τινα ἀντίγραφα veniva appunto intitolato così, κλῆρος Αύγείου. Eppure anche

questo era stato inventato, a Firenze, per l'edizione Giuntina. Sotto il duplice titolo il Morel dichiara: ἐντελής νῦν τὸ πρῶτον, e dopo versi 35 posticci assicura che questo brano proviene dall'antica fonte: ἔπη τὰ μέχοι τῶνδε, ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀντιγράφου παρελήφθη. ὀνόμασθα δὲ τοῖς πρότεροις τὰ ἐπόμενα, e prosegue con il testo trādito. Il brano dei 35 versi iniziali è scadente sotto ogni aspetto, anche formale. C'è persino un esametro 'bizantino' o 'umanistico', per così dire, cioè senza cesura (quando il terzo metro è occupato da dattilo o spondeo con fine di parola), come il v.9: κ' ἐν βουνοῖς παντοῖς (!) καὶ ἐν οὔρεσι νήσου. È uno schema a cui indulgono, a volte, umanisti latini a greci anche insigni, compreso il Poliziano negli epigrammi greci.

Sotto il titolo del carme 27, che ripete l'intestazione di Calliergi e non della Giuntina, il Morel annota: ἐλλιπής ἡ ἀρχὴ πρότερον, νῦν δ' ἐντελής. Qui si accontenta di premettere al testo trādito soltanto cinque versi, e veramente meschini.²²⁾ Addirittura tre su cinque sono composti senza cesura (cioè non sono esametri, come ho detto, ma coppie di hemi-epe). Si direbbe che quel ritmo aereo risulti particolarmente gradevole per il compositore; anche il v.72, lacunoso nei codici e nelle stampe, lo costruisce con il medesimo vizio: ήτε <ταῦρον θύων (!) Κύπριδι καὶ Υμεναῖψ>. Alla fine sono omessi i vv.73-74, conservati solo in D (e quindi in C), ma già omessi nelle stampe. È omesso anche il v.9, conservato solo da D, e non da C né dalle stampe musuriane. Di queste, o della sola Giuntina, è di solito ripetuto il testo dal Morel, ma compare la congettura dello Stefano nel v.48, παρθένῳ ἀλοεά δείξω.

Viene per ultimo l'*Epitafio di Bione*, M 3, attribuito a Mosco secondo le cognizioni dell'epoca. In questo, dopo il v.92, sono inseriti nel testo i sette versi additizi, di cui ho detto sopra (test.9); non solo i sei di Musuro, ma anche quello premesso ai sei e rifiutato poi dallo Scaliger. Il Morel li annota così: Τοῖς ἔπτα (sic) στίχοις ἐπομένοις Μᾶρκος δὲ Μούσουρος (sic) ἀνεπλήρωσε τὰ λείποντα. Con questa frase il Morel vuole intendere che l'integrazione era stata eseguita dal Musuro con versi autentici; invece lo Stefano aveva adoperato le stesse parole (test. 4), τὰ λείποντα ἀνεπλήρωσε, per significare il contrario.

NOTE

1) Ne possiedo una copia, da cui cito: *Epigrammatum Graecorum annotatio-nibus Ioannis Brodae Turonensis, nec non Vincentii Obsopaei, et Graecis in pleraque epigrammata scholiis illustratorum libri VII.* Accesserunt Hen- rici Stephani in quosdam Anthologiae locos annotationes. Additi sunt indi- ces tres, pernecessarij. Francofurti Apud Andreae Wecheli heredes Claudium Marnium et Iohannem Aubrium. Anno M.DC. cum privilegio Caesareae Maies- tatis et Christianissimi Galliarum Regis.

2) Si veda A. Calderini, *Scoli greci all'Antologia Planudea*, "Memorie Ist. Lombardo" XXII 8, 1912, pp.227-280, in particolare pp.233, 238-41, 245 per il rapporto del corpus scolastico con Musuro. Lo Scholium Weche- lianum è attribuito al Musuro esplicitamente da V. Rose, *Anacreont. ex Anth. Pal.*, Lipsiae 1876³, p.xiv n.16. Per altre notizie sul corpus scoli- astico si veda J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, "Cornell Studies in English" XXIII, Ithaca-New York 1935, pp.156-58.

3) Questo dato codicologico dovrà essere precisato e riconsiderato, in rapporto ai dati biografici di Marco Musuro, o di Giano Lascari eventualmente, o di Calliergi, per stabilire a chi spetti realmente lo Schol. Wechel.

4) Paris. Réserve Y 503. Ma ora la nuova segnatura è Ré. Yb 484: questa informazione mi è stata cortesemente comunicata dal collega Jean Irigoin, che inoltre ha richiamato la mia attenzione sulla grafia del nome Βουάρου. Questa è la grafia comune a tutte le fonti citate dello Schol. Wechel. (e non Βουάρου, come di solito si ripete). Perciò sospetto che si tratti di un cognome italiano come Bucari, Buccaro, Bucarini, Boccaro. Non sarebbe, dunque, una trasposizione dell'antico cognome padovano dei Capivaccei o Capo-di-vacca, come di solito viene inteso il ΒΟΥ-κεφάλα della Giuntina, nella elaborata epistola di Filippo Pandolfini.

5) Un altro scolio greco, relativo a Theocr. ep.16, è stampato a margine nell'ediz. Wechel p.376, e si riferisce ad Anth. Pal. VII 662, che nella tradizione antologica, e quindi anche nella Planudea, è attribuito a Leo- nida. Lo scolio rettifica, e aggiunge varianti testuali; ma è assente dagli *Scholia Ambrosiana*, e quindi lo considero come una addizione successiva nel corpus scolastico.

6) Robert J. Smutny, *The text history of the epigrams of Theocritus*, "University of California Public. in Class. Philol." 15.2 (1955), pp.51-62.

7) Sui rapporti di Calliergi con il Musuro, e con Erasmo e con Aldo Manuzio, ved. in particolare Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (1962), pp.111-222, con ampia bibliografia.

8) Sulla questione rimando al mio articolo *Bione di Smirne e il suo epitafio*, "Boll. Class. Lincei" 1968, pp.65-75.

9) *Carmina novem illustrium feminarum etc., ex bibliotheca Fulvii Ursini Romani.* Antverpiae ex officina Christophori Plantini. In altre edizioni del Cinquecento veniva ripetuta distesamente l'annotazione del Calliergi, per esempio nell'ediz. di Basilea apud Cratandrum del 1541, e nelle due Brubachiane di Francoforte del 1545 e 1553; così nella Genevensis descritta da Fabricius-Harles III 786, ved. Jacobs, *Animadv. in Epigr. A.G.*, p.xlvi.

10) Così K. Latte, "Gnomon" 1951, p.253, ed altri ancora, nonostante il contrario avviso di R. Pfeiffer, *Callim.*, II p.lxxv (1953). Questi ricorda i versi integrati da Musuro negli Inni di Callimaco e la testimonianza di un discepolo di Musuro, conservata in una nota ms. di Casaubon: *In antiqua Aldi editione haec manca reperiuntur et vide Musuri discipulum qui ita ab ipso quondam expletum hunc locum diceret.*

11) A. Tovar, in "Emerita" 13 (1945), pp.41-48, e poi il suo studio particolareggiato, *Aún sobre el texto de los Bucólicos*, "Anales de filol. clás." 4, Buenos Aires 1949, p.15 sgg., con edizione e fotografia del testo di Salamanca. L'apparato al testo ha bisogno di essere controllato e completato mediante la silloge generale delle varianti e collazioni contenuta nell'edizione dell'Ahrens (1855), di cui il Tovar non disponeva.

12) C. Wendel, *Ueberlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien*, "Abh. Ges. Göttingen" 1920, p.172, e a p.203 il codice di Salamanca, che si riteneva più recente dell'altro. Il Toletanus di Andrea Schott era registrato dall'Ahrens, *Buc. Gr.* (1855), I p.xlii, e ricordato dal Wendel a proposito del Bruxellensis.

13) Poteva essere anche una copia affrettata e peggiorata della stampa Aldina. Questa aveva seguito il testo del precedente incunabolo milanese del 1481, negli idilli 1-18, ampliandone la materia mediante il testo dell'attuale codice X = Vat.gr.1311, derivato a sua volta dal Par.gr.2781 (in cui si susseguono la mano di Michele Apostolis e quella di suo figlio Aristobulo). Su ciò rimando alla mia ediz. di Teocrito, pp.267 sg. e 307.

14) Di ciò ho fatto cenno nella mia ediz., 1955², p.lxxv sg.; altro ha precisato il Gow nella sua ediz. commentata di Cambridge (1950), I, pp.xlv-xlvii e n.1; pp.lvii-l ix; e un'aggiunta nella seconda edizione (1952), p.591.

15) Ma si noti che il Pandolfini alludeva a carmi inediti e specialmente agli Epigrammi teocritei; invece le *Emendationes* riguardano gli idilli editi nell'Aldina e quindi la critica testuale esercitata su di essi dal Musuro, che certamente collazionava il testo anche su codici vari. Ciò che si deve intendere in effetti con la complessa nozione di *Patavinus desperditus*, costituisce un problema molto delicato ed incerto, che qui tralascio.

16) Nel volume miscellaneo, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* (Francofurti 1608) a cui attese lo stesso Schott, si legge così a p.31: *Toletana florens Academia... in qua Alvarus Gometius Eulaliensis annos multos Graecam linguam docuit... quem exceperunt anno 1580 Andreas Schottus, post Petrus Pantinus Belgae.*

17) Questo si dovrebbe referire ad una delle edizioni Brubachiane, che l'Ahrens registra per l'anno 1545 (Francofurti ex officina Petri Brubachii) e poi per gli anni 1553 e 1558; oppure l'altra derivata e peggiorata che fu edita del 1582, Witebergae, nell'officina di Lehman; ancora peggiore, e derivata da questa, è l'edizione del 1596, Lipsiae.

18) A questo punto riporta qualche parola della Vita teocritea, fra cui οὐκουνῆς δὲ γέγονε Φιλατᾶ, proprio con questa lezione (che coincide con il testo della Vita contenuta nelle *Emendationes*), invece di Φιλητᾶ, cfr. Prol. A a Wendel.

19) Si noti che questa lezione erronea (Ὥν εἰδεις, χ'ῶν εἴπας ιδοῖσα) è solo una congettura penetrata in un gruppo di codici recenti, fra cui il parigino D e il madrileno di Costantino Lascari; di qui è passata in tutte le edizioni antiche, cioè i due incunaboli e le due stampe del 1516; ved. il mio articolo *Da Planude e Moscopulo alla prima edizione a stampa di Teocrito*, "Stud. it. fil. class." 1936, p.49 (ed anche p.55 per l'omissione di alcune parole in 15 vv.22-23, che nel quaderno delle *Emendationes* vengono reintegrate con l'avvertenza: *carmina sequentia deprivata. Legendum igitur sic*, e qui sono trascritti i vv.22-27, e poi commentati).

Il testo originario, controllabile sul papiro di Antinoe e sui codici di tradizione primaria, diceva così: ἦν ἕδες, ἦν εἶπας καὶ ἔσοντα. Ed è facile vedere come si giunse a quella lezione umanistica, a causa di una scrittura itacistica (εἴδες per ἕδες nell'archetipo bizantino) che suggerì una falsa correzione metrica, e quindi il ristabilimento della particella potenziale fuori del posto giusto.

20) Continua precisando: *Proximo tamen versu ἐκ μοισῶν scriptum erat per α, non per ω.* (Infatti in *Emend.* è scritto così, e non μοισῶν). *Ter-
tio item versui lucem adferent Theocriti v.12 & 40 idylli septimi.* (Cio corrisponde alle annotazioni marginali che rimandano alle *Talisie* nel quaderno delle *Emend.*).

Quindi retrocede a commentare il v.90 Κτήιον: *liber vetus, quo sum
usus, Τήιον litteris quinque scriptum praeferunt.* Ma appartiene alla vul-
gata la scrittura Τήιον, che si riferisce ad Anacreonte, mentre l'Aldina
aveva οὐτήιον, e Callieri stampò οὐτήιον, forse pensando a Bacchilide. Nel
quaderno delle *Emend.* è scritto così: οὐτήιον ὅστιν γρ. Τήιον ὅστιν.

21) È stampato così, e non τῶν δ' πληραιμάτων, come credeva l'Ahrens
(cioè i "quattro" supplementi).

22) Anche i cinque versi premessi al carme 27 erano noti allo Scaliger-
ero, p.231 ediz. Heinse, dal già ricordato manoscritto di Ludovico Cas-
tagna.

Aggiungo una scheda di studio, che Carl Wendel mi comunicò a suo tempo
(nel 1935); si riferisce appunto ai testi integrati dal Morel mediante
la copia di Nicolò Maiorana ricevuta dall'Italia:

Die italienische Hs., aus der die Ergänzungen stammen
sollen, hat man sich ähnlich wie die Scaliger-Hs. Nr.39
(XVI. Jh.) der Leidener Bibliothek (*Codd. mss. Bibl. Univ.
Leidensis 2, 1910, S.12*) zu denken, die Fol.53-56 eine Samm-
lung derselben humanistischen Zudichtungen enthält.

Sarebbe forse interessante esaminare questi fogli di Leida.

NOTES CRITIQUES AUX ARGONAUTIQUES ORPHIQUES

FRANCIS VIAN

Une édition des *Argonautiques Orphiques* (ci-dessous *AO*) est une tâche malaisée. Ce poème de 1376 vers est l'oeuvre d'un versificateur médiocre et déconcertant. Tantôt il démarque Apollonios de Rhodes, soit qu'il imite maladroitement soit qu'il en prenne le contre-pied avec plus ou moins de bonheur; tantôt, en particulier dans le récit du retour des Argonautes, il met à contribution des traditions rares dont il est pour nous l'unique et précieux témoin. Sa langue contient "viel Merkwürdiges" (Keydell, 190); sa métrique s'autorise de nombreuses licences. En outre, le texte qui nous est parvenu est très gravement altéré: il paraît clair que le copiste à qui nous devons d'avoir conservé les *AO* ne disposait que d'un manuscrit devenu illisible par endroits; il a, vaille que vaille, transcrit ce qu'il parvenait à déchiffrer et a restitué le reste de manière à sauvegarder à peu près le mètre, mais sans se soucier beaucoup du sens ni de la grammaire. Aussi est-il souvent malaisé de décider si telle ou telle bizarrerie est due à un accident de la tradition ou si elle remonte à l'auteur lui-même.

J'ai proposé récemment un classement des cinquante-trois manuscrits connus qui m'a conduit à remettre en cause la valeur attribuée jusqu'ici à quelques manuscrits regardés comme *optimi*, alors qu'ils sont l'oeuvre de copistes philologues de la fin du XV^e siècle ou du début du XVI^e siècle¹⁾. A partir de ce travail préliminaire, qui était indispensable, je prépare maintenant une édition qui n'en est encore qu'à l'état d'ébauche. Aussi ai-je limité en principe aux sept cents premiers vers les quelques remarques critiques présentées ici, en espérant qu'elles ne paraîtront pas trop aventureuses ni

indignes de l'illustre savant à qui elles sont dédiées²⁾. Pour l'intelligence des pages qui vont suivre, je résume d'abord les résultats auxquels m'a conduit l'enquête sur la tradition manuscrite, en précisant la signification des sigles qui seront utilisés:

- Ω ancêtre commun des MSS, restitué à partir de K et de Ψ³⁾.
- K *Laur. Conv. Soppr.* 4 (vers 1388), proche parent du suivant.
- Ψ manuscrit perdu du *Corpus des Hymnes*, restitué grâce à
 - a) cinq apographes indépendants, A (*Ambros. gr.* 120, vers 1420-1428) et quatre autres MSS plus récents, N V F H;
 - b) deux apographes perdus (XVe siècle), ζ et θ, ce dernier ayant servi à l'établissement d'"éditions" successives dérivant les unes des autres;
 - MSS de l'atelier de Constantin Lascaris (= Lasc.), à partir de 1464;
 - E (*Scor. Σ III E*, vers 1480-1485), d'où est issu B;
 - MSS de l'atelier de Georges et Démétrios Moschos (= Mosch.), du début du XVIe siècle, au nombre desquels sera cité le MS G.

*

V. 16 (et 1359), 18, 72. - Un copiste de l'atelier de C. Lascaris (sans doute G. Valla) opère, au début du poème, trois corrections métriques qui ont été souvent admises, d'autant plus volontiers qu'on les trouve dans des *recentiores* jadis qualifiés d'*optimi*: 16 *καλέουσι* (*κικλήσκουσι*), 18 *γηγενέων* (*γιγάντων*), 72 *ἔκιχεν* (*έκιχανε*). Il s'agit en fait de *lectiones faciliores* dont aucune ne peut être retenue. (1) Bien que l'*ι* de *γίγας* soit bref aux v. 429, 516, 1351, l'allongement au temps fort est garanti par *Orac. Sibyll. 1,124; 2,232*. (2) Au v. 72, Hermann, suivi par Abel, a eu sans doute raison de considérer *κιθάρην* comme une glose pour *χέλυν* (cf. v. 88, 432, 1002, 1286) et de garder en conséquence *ἔκιχανε*. (3) Au v. 16, Hermann a également vu juste, malgré Abel, en écartant *καλέουσι*. Il propose *κλήζουσι*, qui peut s'autoriser de A0, 1004, *κλῆτις*, et de divers parallèles "orphiques"⁴⁾. Mais le texte transmis suggère plutôt la graphie *κλήσκουσι*: cf. *Hippocr. Cord.*, 8 *κλητικεται*⁵⁾. La conjecture est confirmée par A0, 1359 *νῆσον* *ἔπικικλήσκουσι* (*έπικικιλ- recc.*), qu'il est inutile de corriger en *κικλήσκουσι* ou *έπικικλήζουσι*⁶⁾. On note la même chute du

redoublement dans *Orac. Sibyll.*, 2,282 ἐκτρώσκουσιν, ainsi que pour les composés de πιφαύσκω (cf. LSJ, s.v. φαύσκω).

V. 24: καὶ μῆλου τε καὶ Ἡρακλέος περίφημον ἀμυξεῖν.

καὶ μῆλου Ω : μῆλου ζ εύμῆλου Mosch. / Ἡρακλέος Ω : -κλέους Α -κλῆος ζ.

Partant d'une conjecture de Lobeck, Abel restitue au début du vers δαιομένου τε Ζαγρῆος. La conjecture n'est pas déplacée dans le contexte et a été approuvée, du moins dans son esprit⁷⁾. Sa hardiesse la rend néanmoins suspecte. Je suggère de lire Βῆλου au lieu de μῆλου (la confusion entre β et μ est fréquente en minuscule). Héraclès a été identifié à Bélos/Bél (Cic., *Nat. D.*, 3,16), c'est-à-dire à Melqart. En outre, selon une tradition rapportée par Eudoxe de Cnide, il avait été tué par Typhon, puis ressuscité par Iolaos⁸⁾. Le poète viserait ici cette version rare. Dans cette hypothèse, τε καὶ aurait une valeur explicative, comme c'est souvent le cas pour καὶ dans les scholies; le tour n'est pas inconnu de la poésie: cf. *H. hom. Ap.*, 17; *AO*, 157 (selon Hermann) et peut-être 206⁹⁾. On peut cependant se demander s'il ne faut pas remanier plus profondément le texte, car la forme Ἡρακλέος, scandée - ˘ ˘ -, fait difficulté. On relève dans les *AO* les formes suivantes pour le nom d'Héraclès: (1) *Nominatif*: Ἡρακλέης (302, 551, 639), à scander ˘ ˘ ˘ ou ˘ - ˘ avec synizèse. (2) *Autres cas*: (a) -κλ- fait position six fois: Ἡρακλῆος (-ῆο), ˘ - ˘ ˘ (292), ˘ - ˘ ˘ (417, 655), ˘ - ˘ ˘ (525), - ˘ - ˘ (118, [226 *recc.*]); Ἡρακλέεος, - ˘ - ˘ ˘ (226 Ψ, cf. -κλέος Κ); (b) -κλ- ne fait pas position cinq fois: Ἡρακλέηος (-ῆο), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ (856), ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ (583, 657, 1243); Ἡρακλέος, ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ (24).

Sur les cinq cas de *correptio*, quatre sont aisés à éliminer¹⁰⁾. En revanche, la forme attestée au v.24 est isolée et a été d'ailleurs corrigée déjà dans la tradition manuscrite. Dès lors, j'inclinerais à regarder τε καὶ comme une addition de lecteur et à restituer ainsi le vers:

καὶ Βῆλου Ἡρακλῆος περίφημον ἀμυξεῖν.

V. 31: ὄργια Πραξιδίκης καὶ ἀρείνης νυκτὸς Ἀθήνης.
 ἀρείνης Ω : ἀρείνης ΒΥΡ / νυκτὸς Ω : μητρὸς Mosch. / Ἀρείνης
 νύκτας Ἀθήνης Gesner ὄρεινῆς (uel ὄρείνης) μητρὸς ἀπήνην
 Hermann ὄρεινῆς μητρὸς ἀθύρμα Abel.

Mητρὸς est une conjecture "moschienne" dénuée d'autorité, ce qui rend caduques les tentatives de Hermann et d'Abel; mais les arguments du premier contre le texte de Gesner demeurent valables. Sitzler, 163 s., propose de lire Ἀρείνης νῆκος Ἀθήνης ce qui est plus satisfaisant du point de vue paléographique; pour νῆκος, cf. *AO*, 587; pour Athéna victorieuse des Géants, cf. *Hymnes Orph.*, 32,12. Cependant une allusion au thème classique de la Gigantomachie détonne dans ce catalogue de mythes rares, plus ou moins ésotériques, d'autant plus que les Géants ont été mentionnés au v.18. Je préférerais conjecturer: ὄρεινῆς νύκτας Ἀθηλῆς. Selon Athénagoras, *Pro Christ.*, 20,2 (et 17,4) Schoedel (= *Orph.*, fr.58 Kern), Ἀθηλᾶ est un nom "mystique" d'une Perséphone monstrueuse dotée de quatre yeux, de cornes et d'une *protomé* animale dans la nuque. Sa présence au côté de Praxidiké, autre hypostase de Perséphone (cf. *Hymnes Orph.*, 29,5), serait toute naturelle. Pour νύκτας au sens mystique, cf. *Ap. Rh.*, 2,908.

V. 56-57: Θέσφατα γὰρ Πελίας δειδίσσετο μή οἱ ὅπισθεν
 χειρὸς ὑπ' Αἰσονίδα καθέληι βασιλήιον ἀρχήν.
 57 Αἰσονίδα Ω : -ίδεω Hermann -ίδης Wiel Abel.

Il est curieux que la belle conjecture d'A. Ludwich μή οἱ ὅπις θεῶν¹¹⁾ paraisse oubliée depuis que Weinberger, 255, n.1, l'a écartée sans donner ses raisons. Ce savant s'en tient au texte de Wiel et Abel, tout en reconnaissant: *num uerba χειρὸς ὑπ' Αἰσονίδης recte se habeant, sane dubitare licet*. Une syntaxe aussi tourmentée est encore acceptée par Venzke, 27, n.8¹²⁾ L. Früchtel et H. Herter, qui gardent le gén. Αἰσονίδα (-ίδεω), sont contraints de donner à καθέληι pour sujet Θέσφατα ou un θεός sous-entendu, ce qui n'est pas meilleur¹³⁾. Du point de vue de la méthode, il est significatif que l'on préfère admettre dans les *AO* une mauvaise syntaxe plutôt qu'une correction simple. Pourtant la chute de *ων* en fin de vers est un accident banal et elle a été ici facilitée par la présence d'une synizèse et une mécoupure¹⁴⁾.

V. 79-80 (et 632). Αἰμονίους (-ίας Abel) ὄχεας (Schneider, ὄχεας Ω) et Στρυμονίους (-ίας Schneider Abel) τε ἤδας: une double faute de copiste est peu probable. Il faut garder la forme masculine de l'épithète: cf. 632 Ἀρυνδακίους (-ίδας Abel) προχοὰς¹⁵⁾.

V. 85, 894, 925, 987. Ἐρυμνός qualifie d'ordinaire un lieu fortifié par l'homme, puis, par extension, une hauteur naturelle fortifiée. Ce sens convient aux v.153 τύρσιν ἐρυμνῆς (Weseling, ἐρεμνῆς Ω) Μιλήτοι; 464 οὐλύμπου... πρηπῶνας ἐρυμνούς (cf. Ap. Rh., 2,514); 761 τεῖχος ἐρυμνόν; 1317 ἀπὸ νηὸς ἐρυμνῆς (ζ, -μνήν Ω). Quatre autres passages ont géné: 85 φᾶσιν ἐρυμνόν, cf.894 (pour le Phase) ποταμοῖό τ' ἐρυμνοῦ; 925 (στύπος... φηγοῖο)... ἐρυμνόν, cf. 987 ἄλσος ἐρυμνόν. Hermann et Abel, suivant une conjecture de Heringa pour le v.85, corrigeant systématiquement ἐρυμνός en ἐραννός en se fondant sur deux passages où cet adjectif qualifie le Phase (790 θεῖθρον ἐραννόν) ou le chêne qui porte la toison (991 φηγὸς ἐραννή). Cette quadruple correction est inadmissible (cf. Keydell, 190). Il faut plutôt s'interroger sur le sens que le poète attribuait à ἐρυμνός. Hésychius fournit un élément de réponse en glosant ἐρυμνόν. ίσχυρόν, μέγα, ὑψηλόν καὶ ὄχυρόν. Μέγας et ὑψηλός sont des qualificatifs assez vagues pour convenir à un arbre, un bois ou même à un fleuve. Mais le Ps.-Orphée apporte lui-même une réponse plus précise aux v.986 s. ἀνὰ δ' ἐπτατο καλὰ θύρεθρα / τείχεος εύρυμενοῦς, ὑπεφαίνετο δ' ἄλσος ἐρυμνόν, et 1052 φᾶσίς τ' εύρυμενής. Il semble clair que, pour lui, εύρυμενής, terme non attesté ailleurs, est un synonyme d'ἐρυμνός et que les deux adjectifs peuvent signifier à peu près "vaste et puissant". Cette équivalence n'est pas surprenante. Une ville magnète se nomme selon les auteurs Euryménai et Ερυμναι¹⁶⁾. Chez Apollonios, l'Argonaute Eurybôtès ou Eurybatès est appelé Ερυβôtès¹⁷⁾. On note des variantes analogues pour Ἐρύλαος et Εύρυλεως, Ἐρύμας et Εύρυμας, Ἐρυσίλαος et Εύρυσίλαος¹⁸⁾; cf. aussi Ἐρύσθειαν (Nonn., Dion. 13,445), qui est à rapprocher peut-être d'Εύρυσθεύς¹⁹⁾.

V. 88. Θέσκελον est la leçon de Ω, changée en θέσφατον par S. Abel et Dottin ont eu tort de l'abandonner. Θέσκελος est constant pour qualifier le chant d'Orphée: v. 265, 707, 1001,

1276; θέσφατα désigne les oracles ou les décrets des dieux (v.56, 102): cf. v.190, où θέσφατον ὄμφην se dit pour le devin Idmon.

V. 90, 99, 752, 1041 (et 1038, 1184). Πλώω est habituel dans les *AO*: cf. v.286, 495, 508, 733, 743, 1197, 1264, 1271, 1369. C'est également la leçon de Ω au v.90; Hermann et Abel lui ont préféré à tort πλεῦσαι qui ne figure qu'en ²⁰⁾ G. Les seules formes attestées de πλέω sont: 99 πλεύσας, 752 ἐπεπλέομεν (*contra metrum*, -πλεύομεν E et Hermann Abel Dottin Venzke, -πλώομεν Schneider *recte*), 1041 ἀναπλεύοντες, 1055 πλέομεν²¹⁾. Sauf au v.1055, qui est hors de question, on peut se demander s'il ne convient pas de généraliser πλώω.

V. 116. Si l'on veut éviter une redite avec ήγερέθοντο (v.113), il faut considérer qu'ήγερθεν est l'aoriste d'έγείρω et a le sens de "se lever". Pour ce sens, cf. Ap. Rh., 1.666; 4,1352 (et mes notes à ces passages dans la C.U.F.). Même forme et même sens au v.444²²⁾; cf. encore, avec le sens de "s'éveiller", les v.543, 562, 972.

V. 120. Ἡμος ὅτε τρισσήν μὲν ἐλείπετο Σείριος αἴγλην / Ἡέλιος. L'accusatif est difficile à justifier. On attend le génitif; "lorsque le Soleil fut privé (ou: manqua) d'une triple lumière."

V. 123: ἐφ' ὅδασι Τελμησοῖο. - Τελμησοῖο Ω : Τελμισοῖο Ζ Τερμησοῖο E Περμησσοῖο Schneider. - Il n'y a aucune raison d'adopter la forme *Permesso*. La variante Τερμησσοῖο se trouve déjà dans Hes., *Théog.*, 6; elle était admise de Zénodote et est employée par Paus., 9,29,5²³⁾. On peut seulement se demander s'il faut rétablir un correct Τερμησ(σ)οῖο ou garder Τελμησ(σ)οῖο en supposant que l'erreur géographique remonte à l'auteur.

V. 133, 219. Homère ignore ηλυτή et emploie la forme masculine pour le féminin (B 742; ε 422). Au v.133, quatre manuscrits issus indépendamment de Ψ (K manque) ont περιηλυτός Εύπολέμεια. Il faut sans doute préférer leur témoignage à celui des trois autres familles qui "corrigent" en περιηλυτή. Au v.219, seul A écrit ηλυτός Ωρείθυια: il peut conserver la forme authentique; une homérisation du texte semble moins probable. En revanche, la forme féminine se lit sans variante aux v.132 et 474.

V. 136: Λαοθόη Μερετοῦ. - Érytos et Échion ont pour mère chez Ap. Rh., 1,56, Μενετηίδος Ἀντιανείρης. Antianeira est remplacée par Laothoé sans qu'on sache pourquoi; mais le nom du père est apparemment le même. Ménétos (ou Ménétès) et Mérétoüs sont tous deux inconnus; or Hygin, *Fables*, 14,3, tributaire ici d'Apollonios, fait état d'*Antreatae Mereti* qu'on corrige d'ordinaire en *Antianirae Meneti*. L'accord entre Hygin et les AO invite à garder la forme Mérétoüs, voire à rétablir chez Apollonios.

V. 144-145. Phaléros fils d'Alcôn est originaire d'Attique selon Ap. Rh., 1,96-100. Le texte des AO le fait venir ἀν' Αἰσήποιο ἥδων. Erreur géographique? Peut-être: il y en a d'autres, ne serait-ce qu'au v.145 où Gyrtôn est dite ἀλιστεφές, alors qu'elle se trouve en Pélasgiotide, près de Larissa. On croira plutôt néanmoins que le texte a été gâté par l'intrusion d'une réminiscence homérique (Δ 91), qui a également induit en erreur le copiste au v.195. Si, dans ce dernier passage, il est évident qu'on doive corriger avec quelques manuscrits παρ' Αἰσήποιο ἥδησι en παρ' Ἀσωποῦ ḥ., cette correction est exclue au v.144, puisqu'il n'y a pas d'Asôpos en Attique²⁴⁾. Je propose Ἰλισσοῦ, qui pouvait donner lieu à mélecture, surtout s'il était écrit ΕΙΑΗCCOIO qui est proche d'ΑΙΧΗΠΟΙΟ²⁵⁾.

V. 161-162. Περὶ δ' αὖ τίεν ἔξοχα πάντων / εὔειδη Μελέαγρον. Schneider note que αὖ est *ineptum*, ce qui n'est pas décisif, car l'adverbe est souvent explétif dans le poème: cf. v.248, 413, 510 = 721, [886 (texte gâté)], 899, [1140 (texte gâté)], 1286²⁶⁾. Mais τίεν a en outre un ὅ contre l'usage homérique. On élimine aisément ces deux anomalies en écrivant περὶ δ' ἔξοχα τίεν ἀπάντων d'après ω 78²⁷⁾. Aὖ serait alors, comme aux v. 886 et 1140, une cheville introduite par un réviseur pour rétablir le mètre après une interversion entre τίεν et ἔξοχ(a).

V. 166-167. Εύρυδάμας δ' ἐπόρευσε λιπῶν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην ἀγχόθι Πηνειοῦ καὶ εύγλαγέος Μελιβοίης.

166 ἐπόρευσε Ω : ἐπόρουσε uel ἐπέρησε duo recc. / Βοιβηίδα Lasc.: Φοιβ- Ω / 167 εύγλαγεος (sic) K : εύλάγ- Ψ εύπελάγεος [-γους] Mosch.

Ce passage, qui correspond à Ap. Rh., 1,67 s., a été composé par le poète à l'aide de scholies mutilées d'Apollonios qui

identifient à tort le lac Xynias et le lac Boibé (même erreur dans Steph. Byz., s.v. Ευνία): cf. R. Keydell, dans *RE* 18,2 (1942), 1334,5 ss. En faveur d'έπόρευσε, corrigé inutilement en έπέρησε par Gesner, Hermann et Abel, cf. Dottin, p. cxix; Venzke, 40, n.39 (et déjà Schneider). Je m'attacherai seulement à l'épithète de Mélibée. La leçon dépourvue de sens εύλαγχος a été corrigée dans l'atelier de Moschos en εύπελάγχος, mot mal formé et métriquement difficile, que les éditeurs ont adopté, persuadés que les manuscrits qui l'attestent étaient *optimi*. La bonne leçon a été conservée par K²⁸): εύγλαγής est connu de Nicandre; cf. en outre νεο-, περι-, πολυ-γλαγής et φερεγλαγής, *hapax* d'[Orph.], *Lith.*, 218.

V. 169. (Πολύφημος) / ὃς σφιν ἐν ἡνορέησι μετέπρεπεν ἡρώεσσιν. / Un tel vers ne choque pas dans les *AO*: où et σφιν sont souvent pléonastiques et les prépositions superflues. Aussi Schneider, Hermann, Abel et Dottin ont-ils écarté la correction de Ruhnken ὃς σφῆισ' ἡνορέησι. Cependant, sous sa forme actuelle, le vers est parfaitement inutile: pourquoi signaler la vaillance exceptionnelle d'un héros dont le seul exploit sera de monter sur une butte en Mysie pour tenter - en vain - de rappeler Héraclès (v. 654 s.)? Or, pour Apollonios (1,40-44), Polyphemos est un "ancien" qui *jadis* (πρίν), au temps de sa jeunesse, s'était distingué dans le combat des Lapithes contre les Centaures. Je ne doute pas qu'on doive dès lors écrire ὃς πρίν γ' ἡνορέησι. On notera que les vers suivants sont précisément consacrés au combat contre les Centaures.

V. 183. (Αυγκεύς) ... / ... δεινοῖσιν ὄπώπεεν ὅσσοις. / δεινοῖσιν Ψ : -νοῦς K / ὄπώπεεν plerique : ὄπωπεν A.

Les *AO* comportent des infractions au pont de Hermann qui semblent irréductibles: v. 215, 409, 589 (infraction mineure), 979 (si l'on adopte la conjecture de Wiel), 1245²⁹). Cependant, en se fondant sur les variantes de deux des plus anciens manuscrits (K et A), on peut éliminer aisément celle du v. 183 en lisant δεινοῖς ὅσσοισιν ὄπωπεν. Cf. v. 1188 ὁ γάρ τηλωπὸν ὄπωπε, au sujet du même héros³⁰).

V. 184, 316, 324, 677, 680, 1222 (et 278, 455, 490, 1178). La partie du catalogue des Argonautes qui concerne Télamon

commence par αὐτῷ ἐπεὶ Τελάμων (v.184). On ne peut établir de corrélation entre ἐπεὶ et δὴ τότε (v.187) qui introduit la mention d'un nouveau héros, car tous les articles du catalogue sont indépendants entre eux³¹⁾. Aussi la plupart des éditeurs ont-ils corrigé ἐπεὶ en ἐπὶ, de même que E et certains de ses descendants. L'allongement métrique que suppose cette correction n'est pas choquant par lui-même³²⁾. Mais ἐπὶ n'est qu'une pauvre cheville ("en outre") et surtout on relève cinq autres cas où ἐπεὶ (souvent corrigé en ἐπὶ chez les *recc.*) paraît avoir la valeur d'ἐπειτα: v.316³³⁾, 324³⁴⁾, 677³⁵⁾, 680³⁶⁾, 1222³⁷⁾. Malgré un scepticisme quasi-général, H. Estienne me paraît avoir eu raison d'admettre cette équivalence, bien que la langue grecque ne fournisse pas de parallèles assurés³⁸⁾. L'origine de cette singularité est peut-être à chercher dans l'emploi libre que le poète fait du δὲ *apodotikon*³⁹⁾, notamment après une proposition temporelle. Weinberger, 269, cite les v.233-235⁴⁰⁾, 649 s., 1088-1092, 1341-1343⁴¹⁾. J'ajouterai pour ma part à cette liste le v.490⁴²⁾ et peut-être les v.278-279, si j'ai raison de corriger αὐτῷ ἐπειθ' en αὐτῷ ἐπεὶ θ', d'après les v.455 et 1178, où ἐπεὶ τ(ε) est sûrement une conjonction⁴³⁾. Dans la plupart de ces passages, il est pratiquement impossible de décider si l'on a affaire à une subordonnée suivie d'une principale ou à deux propositions principales dont la première commencerait par un ἐπεὶ adverbial⁴⁴⁾. C'est par ce biais qu'a pu naître un pareil emploi aberrant de cette conjonction.

V. 190: / τῷ καὶ μαντοσύνην ἔπορεν. Weinberger, 298 s., pense que τῷ est démonstratif plutôt que relatif en alléguant B 22. Ni l'un ni l'autre: il faut lire τῷ καὶ, "c'est pourquoi aussi". L'expression est fréquente chez Homère: sept emplois auxquels il faut joindre deux autres cas où καὶ est séparé de τῷ par un monosyllabe⁴⁵⁾.

V. 192 s. / "Ηλυθε δ' αὖ μετὰ τοῖσι Μενοίτιος ἐξ Ὀπθεντος / σύγχορτος Μινύαις. - 193 σύγχορτος Ω : -χωρος E.

H. Estienne conjecture σύμφορτος en commentant: *accessit onus nauis una cum Minyis*. Depuis Gesner, les éditeurs gardent σύγχορτος compris dans le sens de *conterminus*, *finitimus*, γειτνιάγων. Oponte est en effet assez proche de l'Orchomène miny-

enne; mais Μινύατι désigne toujours dans le poème les Argonautes et non les habitants d'Orchomène. Dès lors l'indication "Ménoitios, voisin des Minyens" est dépourvue de sens. En fait, les poètes tardifs usent souvent de composés dont le second élément a perdu sa signification. Σύγχορτος Μινύατις a une valeur proleptique et signifie: (Ménoitios vint d'Oponte) "comme compagnon des Minyens", "pour accompagner les Minyens", ce qui ramène au sens admis par H. Estienne⁴⁶⁾. Comparer les emplois chez Nonnos de σύμπλοος, σύνδρομος, συνέμπορος, σύνηλυς et plus spécialement celui de σύννομος⁴⁷⁾.

V. 254. "Εξοχον ἡρώων Μινυσήτον αἴτια γενέθλης.

Lire peut-être ἔξοχοι ἡρώων. Comparer Σ 56, 437, où ἔξοχον ἡ. est un accusatif masculin.

V. 271: (φάλαγγας) / αἴ οἱ ὑπὸ τρόπι τεῖντο (et v.927).

Le poète transpose Ap. Rh., 1,388 αἴ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ τρόπιδι... φάλαγγες. La scansion de τρόπι (..) est fautive; mais la correction de Hermann reprise par Abel τρόπιν εἶντο n'a aucune vraisemblance. Il faut sans doute admettre l'irrégularité métrique: au v.1332, δμωὶ (-) féminin équivaut à δμωΐδῃ⁴⁸⁾. Cette licence a peut-être pour origine la scansion hom. de κόντι (..), devant voyelle, il est vrai. On rapprochera surtout la formule des *Oracles Sibyllins* ἐν φάει (φαῖ edd.) κοινῶι, qui est scandée ᷂ .. ᷄ - en 1,348; 3,494; fr. 1,18⁴⁹⁾. Je me risquerai à supposer une licence analogue au v.927, qui est transmis ainsi: δέρας, τό κεν αἴψα δοκεύει / δεινὸς ὄφις. - Αἴψα est dépourvu de sens et Hermann corrige τό οἱ ἀμφιδοκεύει. Mais on comprend mal le mécanisme de la faute, même si l'on garde un κεν aberrant dont les AO fournissent d'autres exemples difficiles à éliminer⁵⁰⁾. Le sens attendu est: "La toison que sans cesse surveille un terrible serpent". On aimera donc lire αἴει (scande ᷂ ..) δοκεύει ou mieux αἴ δοκεύει. Cette dernière forme, attestée chez les grammairiens et dans les inscriptions, serait devenue αἴ, puis le mètre aurait été rétabli grâce à un absurde αἴψα. On pourrait rapprocher *Orac. Sibyll.*, 8,462 αἴει κούρη (.. ᷄ -), où Ch. Alexandre reconnaît un ἀικούρη synonyme d'ἀειπάρθενος (mais Wilamowitz et Geffcken n'ont pas retenu sa conjecture).

V. 311 s. (et 957). Ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερθε / πέπλα παρκατέθηκα θεοῖς ἐπινήχυτα δῶρα.

312 πέπλα Ω : -πλω ζ πολλὰ Mosch. / παρκατέθηκα Ω : παρκατ- Lasc. - La correction métrique de ζ (πέπλωι) peut s'autoriser dans une certaine mesure du v.957: αύτίνα δ' ούλαοπλάσμαθ' ὑπὸ πέπλους ἐπονεύμην⁵¹⁾ On a allégué que le péplos semble jouer un certain rôle dans les rites orphiques⁵²⁾. L'expression reste pourtant gênante dans les deux passages. Hermann a proposé πλεκτῶι au v.312 et ὑπὸ πλέκτοις (*sic*) au v.957 (d'où ἐπὶ πλεκταῖς Abel); au v.312, Abel corrige plus hardiment en πυρκαϊῇ κατέθηκα. A. Ludwich a été mieux inspiré en supposant "etwa Folgendes:" πεπτὰ πυροῦ κατέθηκα (cf. Aristoph., *Ecc.*, 843), qui a l'avantage de se fonder sur le texte de Ω⁵³⁾. A mon avis, il suffit de changer πέπλα en πλάσματα, que suggère le v.957⁵⁴⁾: "Et là, par-dessus, je disposai des figurines, présents innombrables pour les dieux". Ainsi serait préparée la mention, par trop abrupte dans le texte transmis, des πόπανα au v.316⁵⁵⁾.

V. 327: (φιάλην)... / ἀμπλήσας κυκεῶνος. - 'Αναπίμπλημι est rare au sens concret (cf. LSJ). Lire ἐμπλήσας d'après le v.963.

V. 350 s. "Ος δέ κε συνθεσίης δηλήσεται οὐκ ἀλεγίζων / δρκον ὑπερβάσιον.

Abel, adoptant les conjectures de Hermann et de Saint-Amand, "normalise" l'expression en corrigeant συνθεσίας et ὑπερβασίης (cf. Γ 107). Dottin garde le texte transmis, mais traduit: "pour qui violerait la convention sans s'inquiéter de transgresser le serment"; il paraît donc lire συνθεσίας et construire ἀλεγίζω avec l'accusatif, tour rare, quoiqu'il soit attesté chez Quintus de Smyrne. Il n'y a pas lieu d'éliminer un "beau" chiasme: "celui qui, sans se soucier de la convention, briserait le serment en le transgressant". Le poète transpose très exactement Γ 107 μή τις ὑπερβασίην Διδες δρκια δηλήσεται⁵⁶⁾. 'Υπερβάσιον a une valeur proleptique (cf. Wiel, 41) et l'*hapax* n'est pas choquant: cf. καταιβάσιος et παραιβάσιον (Paus., 8,28,7).

V. 353: δημοφροσύνηι κατένευσαν. / Les v.303-354 correspondent au bref épisode d'Ap. Rh., 2,715-719, au cours duquel les Argonautes instituent le culte d'Ομόνοια. 'Ομοφροσύνηι est em-

prunté à ce passage: ἐπώμοσαν καὶ μὲν ἀρέσειν / ἀλλήλοις εἰσαιὲν δύμοφροσύνηισι νόσοι. Mais, autant le terme a sa raison d'être chez Apollonios, autant il paraît faible dans les *AO*: "Ils firent d'un cœur unanime un signe d'assentiment". Lire δύμοφροσύνην: "Ils s'engagèrent à observer l'δύμοφροσύνη", ce terme étant la transcription pure et simple d'δύμόνοια. On notera que κατανεύω régit un complément d'objet direct aux v.1311 et 1332.

V. 360-362. (358 Ἐκέκλετο... Τῖφυς) / (360)..., λιμένος δ' ἐκ πείσματα θέσθαι. / Καὶ τότε δὴ λιγὸν οὖρον ἐπιπροέκηε νέεσθαι / Ἡρη. Rapprocher le v.1240: Αὐτάρ ἐπειγομένοισι θέειν λιγὸν οὖρος ἀήτης.

Tel est le texte transmis dans les deux passages. Au v.1240, l'impossible ἀήτης est corrigé par Hermann en ἀήναι⁵⁷⁾. Bien que νέεσθαι soit acceptable au v.361, Voss a sans doute raison de conjecturer -προέκηεν ἀήναι, d'après γ 183 (οὖρος) ... θεός προέκηεν ἀήναι. Ici comme souvent, la faute doit s'expliquer par une mutilation en fin de vers sur l'ancêtre commun de nos manuscrits. Au vers précédent, ἐκτίθεσθαι au sens d'"enlever" n'est pas attesté et Pierson corrige πείσματ' ἀρέσθαι d'après le v.555 πείσματα δ' ἀράμενοι. Mais les *AO* ne confondent pas ἀείρω et ἀρνυμαι (sauf pour ἡρατο, ce qui est déjà le cas chez Homère). Dès lors, si l'on admet que la fin du vers pouvait être mutilée, rien n'interdit de restituer, sans tenir compte du texte transmis, la clause attendue πείσματα λύσαι (= 529; cf. v.628, 1241, 1344, et plus particulièrement 652 θινδὸς δ' ἐκ πείσματα λύειν).

V. 364 s. Ἐτέτμετο δ' ἀσπετος ἄλμη / ἀφροῦ ἄμ' οἰδαίνοντος ὑπὸ τρόπιν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

'Etétmeto est la leçon de la plupart des manuscrits issus de Ψ, alors que δ offre un absurde ἐπέτμετο. Abel et Dottin gardent ἐτέτμετο que le LSJ enregistre sous l'article τετμηώς. Ruhnken, suivi par Hermann, corrigeait ἐτέμνετο. Or K et H, l'un des descendants directs de Ψ, ont ἐτέμετο. Ils doivent conserver la faute initiale, corrigée ensuite malencontreusement en ἐτέτμετο⁵⁸⁾. Cette dernière forme devra donc désormais disparaître des dictionnaires. Au vers suivant, ἄμ' n'a guère de sens, même si l'on met entre virgules ἀφροῦ ἄμ' οἰδαίνοντος.

Lire ἀνοιδαίνοντος: cf. Eur., *Hipp.*, 1210 ἀνοιδησάν τε καὶ πέριξ ἀφρὸν... καχλάζον; Quint. Sm., 14,470 ἀνοιδηναὶ τε (Rhodemann, ἀνοιδηνασθαι *codd.*) θάλασσαν.

V. 371: Τῖφυς δ' ἀμπαύσας δισσῆς οἰήτα χειρός (et v. 443, 729). - δισσῆς Ψ : διὰ γῆς θ ομ. K.

Dottin garde avec raison le texte original, alors que Hermann et Abel, abusés par la mélecture de θ, conjecturent δολικῆς οἰήτα νηός. L'expression fait allusion aux deux gouvernails tenus par le pilote, chacun d'une main: cf. v.276, 533, 729⁵⁹⁾, et surtout 1205 σκαιὸν ὑπεγκλίνας οἰήιον. La syntaxe est singulière: le poète paraît construire ἀμπαύειν τὸ τινος au lieu d'ά. τινά τινος; on peut aussi supposer, avec plus de vraisemblance, que χειρός dépend librement d'οἰήτα ("les gouvernails *tenus* de ses deux mains"). Il semble en tout cas prudent de ne pas toucher au texte⁶⁰⁾.

V. 390 s. Ἀλλά, φίλοι, πελάσωμεν ἐπὶ σπέος, ὅφρα ἴδωμεν / ἔξιν παιδός ἐμοῖο.

Les manuscrits issus de Ψ sont partagés entre ἴδωμεν et ἴδωμαι et K paraît donner ἴδωμαι après correction. La variante remonte sans doute à l'ancêtre commun. En ce cas, on n'hésitera pas à préférer le singulier, l'autre variante ayant été apparemment suscitée par la proximité de πελάσωμεν. Cf. θ 376.

V. 423: ... πυθμένα τε θαλάσσης. / Hermann rétablit tant bien que mal le mètre en écrivant πυθμένας; mais la *correption* est anormale⁶¹⁾ et le pluriel surprend dans ce genre d'expression. H. Estienne était mieux inspiré en conjecturant plus hardiment καὶ πυθμένα ἄλμης. Pour éliminer l'hiatus, je préférerais καὶ πυθμένα πόντου. cf. *Hymnes Orph.*, 23 (Nérée), 4, πυθμήν μὲν πόντου. La faute des manuscrits a dû être provoquée par une glose et sans doute aussi par la mutilation de la fin du vers.

V. 433 s. Ἔστατο δ' ἄκρα κάρηνα καὶ ἄγκεα δευδρήεντα
Πηλίου, ὑψηλάς τε μετὰ δρύας ἥλυθε γῆρας.

433 Ἔστατο [ἔστ-] Ω : ἔστευτο ζ.

Orphée évoque la puissance de son chant dont les accents se répandent à travers la nature (v.433 s.): les arbres sont attirés vers lui (v.435), cependant que les bêtes sont invincible-

ment retenues près de l'antrre de Chiron (v.436-439). Dans un tel contexte, ἔστατο est dépourvu de sens et ne peut être justifié par le *stetit* de Sén., *Herc.Oeta*, 1036 (où il s'agit des fleuves qui s'arrêtent dans leus course). Les meilleures conjectures sont ἔσσυτο (Eschenbach) et surtout ἔπτατο (Hermann)⁶²). Quoi qu'il en soit, l'énumération suit un ordre peu logique: la voix d'Orphée s'élance vers les cimes, les *val-
lons* et atteint les *hauts chênes*. Pour éviter cette course en zigzag, je conjecture ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα: cf. *H.hom.Ap.*, 76⁶³).

V. 448 s. Αύτάρ ἐμοὶ Κένταυρος ἔηι γέρας ὄπασε χειρὶ / νεβρῆν παρδαλέην. - 449 νεβρῆν Schneider : -βρῆν Ω.

Pour νεβρῆν, cf. *Orph.*, fr.238,8 Kern. Παρδαλεός est rare et introduit une précision qui ne laisse pas d'étonner: Chiron aurait-il fait présent à Orphée d'une imitation de peau de léopard, d'une peau de faon "façon léopard"⁶⁴) ? Lire δαιδαλέην: cf. Nonn., *Dion.*, 24,332 = 39,61 νεβρίδι δαιδαλέην, et 20, 240 s. δαιδαλέην δὲ / νεβρίδα.

V. 456-458.

'Εν δ' ἄρ' ἐρετμοῖς
χεῖρας ἐφαπλώσαντες, ἔπειθ' ἄλα τύπτον ἔκαστος,
Πήλιον ἐκνεύσαντες.

457 ἔπειθ' Κ : ἔπει ὁ' ψ ἔπι ὁ' ζ ὑπεὶρ Lasc.

Au v.457, la leçon de K confirme la conjecture de Hermann. Mais Πήλιον ἐκνεύσαντες fait difficulté, bien qu'il n'ait pas attiré l'attention des commentateurs. Les Argonautes quittent Chiron qui habite le Pélion (v.370, 387, 434). Le sens est donc: "s'éloignant du Pélion". Or ἐκνεύω + acc. signifie "shun, avoid" (LSJ), ce qui ne convient pas. Qu'on doive rattacher le participe à ce verbe (*sic*, LSJ) ou plutôt à ἐκνέω (cf. notamment Pind., *Ol.*, 13,114)⁶⁵), il semble que le génitif Πηλίου s'impose⁶⁶).

V. 486 (et 149, 502). / "Ιλιον, Δαρδανίην, Πιτύην ἐπὶ δεξὶ· ἔχοντας.

Pour des raisons métriques, Ruhnken, suivi par Schneider, Hermann et Abel, substitue "Ιδην a "Ιλιον. Inutilement. Il s'agit d'une synthèse dont les *Oracles Sibyllins*, notamment, fournissent des exemples similaires: 1,215 εἰς πλάγιον ($\frac{1}{2} \dots$); 2,325 αὔριον ($\frac{6}{-}$); 8,52 πολιόρκανος ($\dots \frac{3}{-} \dots$)⁶⁷). Ici, "Ιλιον a la valeur d'un spondée⁶⁸). Je soupçonne deux cas analogues dans le poème. (1) Au v.149, la comparaison avec Ap.

Rh., 1,118, invite à corriger Ἀβαντιάδαι en Βιαντιάδαι (scandé ˘ . . ˘). La conjecture a été faite par Venzke, 38, qui l'écarte ensuite en alléguant que le poète aurait voulu marquer ici son indépendance vis-à-vis de sa source. En fait, la leçon des manuscrits est une "Echoschreibung" du v.141, favorisée par l'apparente anomalie métrique⁶⁹⁾. (2) Au v. 502, les manuscrits écrivent: Κύζικος ἥρως, / ὃς Δολόπων ἥνασσε. Dans ce passage aussi, l'auteur suit de près Apollonios et l'on a eu certainement raison de corriger au v.504 / Εύδώρου θυγάτηρο Αίνιππη en Εύσώρου θ. Αίνητη d'après Ap. Rh., 1,949 s. Reste la mention aberrante des Dolopes au lieu des Dolions. Schneider a conjecturé Δολιέων (avec synizèse), d'après Hécatée de Milet, 1 F 219 Jacoby. A partir des parallèles mentionnés ci-dessus, on peut, à mon avis, rester plus près du texte transmis en restituant Δολιέννων à scander . . ˘ .⁷⁰⁾ La leçon des manuscrits, due au désir de "rétablir" le mètre, a été naturellement influencée par les v.131 Δολόπεσσιν, et 461 Δόλοπος.

v. 571 s. Φιτροὺς δ' αἴψα κόμιζον ιδ' ἔντομα πορσύνοντες / παμμέλαν' ἐν βόθροις κατεκίαθον.

572 κατεκίαθον Ω : μετ- Mosch. - Lors des funérailles de Kyzicos, Les Argonautes élèvent un tumulus, puis (v.571 s.) dressent un bûcher et font un sacrifice. Se fondant sur le texte "moschien", Hermann suppose que μετακιάθω signifie *aliquid curare*, comme μετέρχεσθαι τι. Il a été suivi par Abel (qui ne note même aucune variante dans son apparat critique) et par Dottin. Les prédecesseurs de Hermann, mieux inspirés, avaient vu qu'il fallait restituer un verbe signifiant "brûler". Avec Eschenbach et Gesner, on lira κατεκίαθον (ou mieux κατεκείαθον?) d'après Ap. Rh., 1,587 s.: καί μιν κυδαίνοντες ὑπὸ κνέφας ἔντομα μῆλων / κεῖαν. - Κατάθω ou κειάθω n'est pas attesté; mais ce type de formation est bien connu⁷¹⁾. La conjecture est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'une forme analogue a été heureusement restituée par Hermann (suivi par Abel et Dottin, p. cxvii, n.1) aux v. 767 et 1155, ὃς οἱ μὲν τὰ ἔκαστα πονείαθον. Dans les deux passages, Ω a πονείατον, qui a été corrigé ensuite dans la tradition manuscrite en πονείατο ou πονήατο (avec hiatus)⁷²⁾.

V. 643. Τοῦ δ' ἀφαμαρτήσαντος "Υλας ἔξινετο νηδς..."

ἀφαμαρτήσαντος Ψ : ἀφοι- K Mosch. - Schneider, suivi par Dottin, interprète ἀφαμαρτεῖν comme *coetu abire*. Hermann rejette cette forme et adopte l'autre variante avec cette note: *facilius ἀφαμαρτεῖν 'aberrare', 'longius discedere' erit*. En fait, aucun parallèle ne justifie cette traduction. Lire τοῦ δ' ἄρ' ἀφορμήσαντος ou τοῦ δ' ἄφαρ ὄρμήσαντος. Le poète connaît les deux verbes; s'il les emploie ailleurs à l'aoriste passif (v.667, 1128, 1373), comme Apollonios, l'aoriste actif à valeur intransitive est attesté depuis Homère, du moins pour le verbe simple⁷³⁾. Le choix entre les deux conjectures est malaisé: toutefois la seconde est plus proche du texte transmis⁷⁴⁾ et offre l'avantage d'introduire un ἄφαρ que le poète affectionne (six attestations et une conjecture pratiquement certaine au v.63). On rapprochera en particulier le v.1214 dont le premier hémistiche est proche pour l'oreille de notre passage: τοῖς δ' ἄφαρ ὠμάρτησε.

V. 667 et 1128: ἔνθα δ' ἀφορμηθέντες.

Mis à part six occurrences d'*ἔνθα* καὶ *ἔνθα*, les emplois d'*ἔνθα* se répartissent comme suit: 1. Adv. démonstratif. (a) Local: question *ubi*: *ἔνθα* 671, 722; *ἔνθα δ(ὲ)* 113, 499, 1268. question *unde*: *ἔνθα δ'*, 667, 1128. (b) Temporel: 1347. - 2. Adv. relatif, marquant la question *ubi*, sauf en 1199 (*quo*). (a) *ἔνθα*, 154, 467, 659, 993, 1199, 1375; (b) *ἔνθα τε* (sauf en 236, résultant toujours d'une correction de *ἔνθα δὲ* ou *ἔνθαδε*), 236, 378, 493, 746, 749, 1050; (c) *ἔνθα περ* 800, 1130.

Les deux cas où *ἔνθα δ'* marque la question *unde* sont manifestement erronés. Lire *ἔνθεν*, d'après les v. 484, 733, 1373; comparer, par exemple, Ap. Rh., 1,592; 2,722.

V. 695-698 (et 981). (Αθήνη)...έρωδιὸν ἦκε φέρεσθαι
ἄκρην ιστοκεραῖαν. δ δ' ἀσχαλόων πεπότητο.
πέτραις δ' ἐν μυχάταισιν ὑπὸ πτερύγεσσιν ἀερθεὶς
δινήθη. ταὶ δ' αἴψα...

696 ιστοκεραῖαν [-αῖαν] Ω : -αῖην Mosch. / 698 δινήθη Stephanus : δινεῦνται Ω δινεῦντο uel δινεῖται uel δινεῖτο uel δινοῖτο recc. / ταὶ om. F scribens δινεῦνται δ' αἴψα.

Lors du passage des Symplégades, Athéna "envoya un héron se percher à l'extrême de l'antenne; celui-ci s'envola..." (trad. Dottin⁷⁵). Le récit est incohérent: l'oiseau voile à travers les Roches, alors que la déesse, on ne sait pourquoi, l'a envoyé vers (ou: sur) l'antenne du navire⁷⁶). Conscient de la difficulté, Schneider proposait au v.696 ἀντικρυς ἐς τὸ πέρατον. Le même sens peut s'obtenir à moindres frais si l'on corrige ἀκρην ἀντιπέραταν, "vers le cap situé en face". Cf. Ap. Rh., 2,351 ἀντιπέραταν / γῆν; 4,521 νῆσον ἐς ἀντιπέραταν. Au v.698, la correction d'H. Estienne est acceptée de Schneider, Hermann, Abel, Venzke (87, n.144), alors que Dottin adopte un impossible δινεῖται et Keydell (190) δινεῖτο, *contra metrum*. La leçon de Ω met sur la voix du texte authentique: ΔΙΝΕΥΝΤΑΙΤΑΙ comporte une dittographie (noter la variante de F qui l'élimine fautivement, à moins qu'il ne conserve le texte ancien) et on lira δινευεν· ται. Comparer v. 994 δινεύων, à la même place dans le vers. La forme médio-passive reparaît dans les manuscrits au v.981 ἐγκύλιαι δινεῦντο, où l'asyndète a gêné. L'éditeur de Ζ l'élimine en écrivant δὲ δινεῦντο aux dépens du mètre; Wiel, suivi par Abel, adopte δ' εἰλεῦντο. Mieux vaut, à mon avis, partir de la conjecture de Hermann δινεον δὲ (avec synthèse ou abrègement irrégulier de l') et éditer δινευν δὲ⁷⁷). Si la restitution est correcte, on observera que le poète emploie toujours l'actif δινέω ou δινεύω.

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NOTES

1) "La tradition manuscrite des *Argonautiques Orphiques*", *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* (sub prelo).

2) J'adopte la numérotation des vers de l'éd. Dottin, la seule qui soit conforme à la tradition manuscrite. Les éditions citées sont celles de J.G. Schneider (1803), G. Hermann (1805), E. Abel (1885) et G. Dottin (1930). Les mémorables *Orphica* de Hermann réunissent commodément dans leurs notes les contributions des éditeurs et critiques antérieurs. Les travaux suivants ne sont mentionnés que par le nom de leur auteur: G. Wiel, *Observationes in Orphei Argonautica* (Diss. Bonn, 1853); J. Sitzler, *Neue Philol. Rundschau*, 1886, 161-167 (compte rendu de l'éd. Abel); G. Weinberger, *Quaestiones de Orphei quae feruntur Argonauticis* (Diss. Philol. Vindob., 3, 1891); R. Keydell, *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, 8, 1929-1930,

189-191 (compte rendu de l'éd. Dottin); H. Venzke, *Die Orphischen Argonautika in ihrem Verhältnis zu Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin, 1941).

3) K est soit un jumeau de Ψ soit un descendant de celui-ci issu d'un intermédiaire perdu. Aussi m'a-t-il paru préférable de noter l'accord entre K et l'ancêtre de tous les autres manuscrits (Ψ) par le sigle Ω que je n'ai pas utilisé dans l'article cité à la n.1.

4) *Hymnes Orph.*, 34,24; 38,23; *Orph.*, fr. 91,2; 175,2 Kern.

5) E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, 1,709, § 5, incline à écrire οὐκομεταί.

6) La seconde conjecture est donnée par Hermann en note.

7) Cf. Sitzler, 162; Weizsäcker, *Korrespondenz-blatt... Würtemberg*, 35, 1888, 274 s.

8) Eudoxe de Cnide, dans *Athénée*, 9, 392 d-e; cf. *Kleine Pauly*, 3 (1969), s. Melqart, 1184. Pour d'autres allusions au combat d'Héraclès contre Typhon, cf. A. Loyen, *Mélanges A. Ernout* (1940), 237-245.

9) Au v.206, on peut se demander si θεράπναιος est un nom commun (cf. 950, et surtout 1208) ou s'il désigne la localité de Laconie comme le pense Hermann. Thérapnai n'est pas située au bord de la mer et l'épithète ἀλικύστος ne lui convient pas; mais le poète a des connaissances géographiques très approximatives; au vers précédent, il fait venir du cap Malée "le Ténarien Euphemos"; voir aussi ci-dessous la note aux v.144s.

10) La même graphie -εῖ(ος), avec une accentuation différente, se retrouve dans les manuscrits de la seconde famille d'Apollonios: cf. C.U.F., t.1, p. lxxiv; il doit s'agir d'une graphie byzantine. On notera que la graphie Ἡραλέεος au v.226 est infirmée par le parallèle du v.118 qui reproduit comme le v.226 l'hom. Ἡραλῆος θείοιο.

11) A. Ludwich, *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.*, 135, 1887, 647.

12) Venzke regarde Αἰοούλα comme un nominatif (même opinion chez Gesner); l'éditeur de sa dissertation, L. D(eubner) le critique sur ce point et revient à la correction de Wiel.

13) L. Früchtel, *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 63, 1943, 8; H. Herter, *Gnomon*, 21, 1949, 71, n.5.

14) La synizèse est bien attestée pour θεός: cf. les notes de R.Pfeiffer à Callim., fr. 96,1, et de M.L. West à Hés., *Theog.*, 44.

15) Le flottement entre les désinences masculine et féminine est fréquent dans ce type d'adjectifs: cf. Fr. Reisch, *De adjectivis graecis in -τος* (Diss. Bonn, 1907), qui ne répertorie pas les termes géographiques. Voir aussi les remarques de Ch. Alexandre pour les *Oracles Sibyllins* dans son édition de 1841-1853, t.2, p.589.

16) Cf. É. Delage, *Géographie dans les Argon. d'Ap. Rh.* (1930), 81. Sur la ville homonyme d'Érymnai en Lycie, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes* (1963), 375-380.

17) Ap. Rh., 1,71 et 73; 2,1039. Voir l'apparat critiques dans la C.U.F.

18) Cf. F. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* (1917), p.167, 181 s. O. Masson a bien voulu me communiquer les observations suivantes: "Nous ignorons comment les Anciens ont pu 'traduire' ces noms rares: idée de 'protection' ou de 'largeur', 'étendue', s'ils les comprenaient toujours...En outre, l'influence du groupe Εύο-, plus banal, a dû intervenir par étymologie populaire. D'autre part, les poètes érudits ont pu jouer, à un certain moment, avec une double série 'Εύο-/Εύου-' leur permettant d'utiliser

des composés de structure métrique différente, sans s'occuper de 'sens' et encore moins d' 'étymologie' ".

19) La forme *Ἐρύθειαν* est rétablie par conjecture chez Nonnos, mais elle est garantie par Dionysios, *Bassariques*, fr. 4,2 Livrea.

20) Venzke, 6, n.8, opte pour *πλῶσαι*.

21) Au v.1038, *πλεῖον* est le comparatif de *πολύς* et non une forme verbale malgré Hermann et Abel. Au v.1184, Ω avait sans doute *ἀνατυένεσθαι* (d'où *-ασθαι* θ); la variante *ἀναπλεύεσθαι* (-ασθαι) est moins bien attestée (Σ, N) et paraît devoir être écartée.

22) G. Dottin traduit ici avec raison: "Les autres se levèrent rapidement". Mais, au v.116, il adopte une interprétation différente: "Ils s'assemblèrent avec plaisir".

23) Voir le commentaire de M.L. West au passage cité de la *Théogonie*.

24) Plusieurs manuscrits ont pourtant "corrigé" en *αισθότο* ou *αισθότο*.

25) Pour cette graphie, cf. v.220 où Ω écrit *Εἰλεισσοῦ*, et surtout Ap. Rh., 1,215, où un papyrus offre *Ειλεισσοῦ*. Cf. à ce sujet M. Campbell, *CQ*, 21, 1971, 404.

26) Αῷ est souvent superflu aussi dans les *Oracles Sibyllins*: cf. l'éd. Ch.Alexandre, t. 2, p.598.

27) ω 78 *ἔξοχα τῆς ἀπάντων*; comparer I 631; *H. hom. Ap.* 88. Le poète se souvient en outre d'une formule telle que *περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐταίρων* (Σ 81; cf. Δ 257).

28) Toup, Dinner et Schneider l'avaient également conjecturée.

29) Au v.615, Ω coupe correctement δὲ *τέρπετο* que Hermann a rétabli par conjecture. Au v.933, Abel introduit une nouvelle infraction; mais le texte transmis est correct.

30) *Ὀπωπε* vaut un imparfait comme souvent chez Nonnos: cf.I. Rosenboom, *Quaestiones de Orphei Argonauticorum elocutione*, Diss. Hall., 9, 1888, 126.

31) Δὴ *τότε* figure normalement à l'apodose dans la langue épique (par exemple, dans les *AO* aux v.356 et 889). Mais le poète l'emploie volontiers en début de phrase comme équivalent de *καὶ τότε*: v.266, 331, 501, 1197, 1264, 1284, 1334, 1366.

32) A. Rzach, *Neue Beiträge zur Technik des nachhomerischen Hexameters* (*SB. Akad. Wien*, 100, 1882), 321-330, a relevé un assez grand nombre d'allongements d'une voyelle brève finale au temps fort devant occlusive. Cf., dans les *AO*, le v.1283.

33) *Αὔτῷ ἐπεὶ κραδίνην*. Une correction *ἐπὶ* est ici très acceptable: il s'agirait d'une tmèse (*ἐπὶ...* *ἔθηκα*) et la construction de *πονηρούσιν* s'en trouverait améliorée; mais, les *AO* usant librement du datif locatif sans préposition (cf. v.78, 102, 267, 269, etc.), l'argument n'est pas décisif.

34) *Αἴμα δ' ἐπεὶ ταύροι*.

35) *Αὔτῷ ἐπεὶ ζαμενῆς Βορέης*. La correction *ἐπὶ*, qui figure dans Mosch., est admise par Schneider, Wiel, Abel, Weinberger, alors que Hermann lui substitue un *οὶ* "orphique". L'adverbe n'a pas grand sens et il vaudrait mieux supposer avec B un *hapax ἐπιζαμενῆς* sur le modèle d'*ἐπιζάρελος*.

36) *Αὔτῷ ἐπεὶ Φινῆος*. Les corrections proposées pour éliminer un *ἐπεὶ* adverbial sont innombrables; aucune n'est satisfaisante. A noter que Ω

accentue ἐπεὶ ici de même qu'au v.677.

37) Αὔταρ ἐπεὶ Μήδειαν. La conjonction ἐπεὶ peut être ici conservée facilement si l'on corrige au v.1225 ἦν τότε en δὴ τότε (Schneider, Sitzler) ou τὸν τότε (Saint-Amand).

38) Le *Thesaurus* signale néanmoins trois emplois remarquables d'ἐπεὶ δὲ dans Ant. Lib., 11,3; 28,3; 31,2. Ils ont été naturellement corrigés; mais M. Papathomopoulos (C.U.F.) les conserve dans son édition. Les tours hom. comportant un ἐπεὶ causal sans apodose (cf. Z 333, P 658, et les notes de Leaf) ne sont pas comparables.

39) Δὲ apodotikon est également fréquent dans les *Or. Sib.*, C.U.F., 2, p.598.

40) Dans ce passage, j'admetts avec Hermann et Abel l'interversion des v.233 et 234. L'apodose commence donc par ἀνοτάντες δέ (δέ corr. Hermann) οὐα.

41) Cf. aussi 351 après une proposition relative. Weinberger mentionne à tort le v.680 (cf. ci-dessus la note 36) et les v.1036 s. (ici le verbe principal est ιέμεθ(α), qui n'est pas précédé de δέ).

42) Αὔταρ ἐπεὶ (ἐπὶ Mosch.) ψαμάθοισιν ἐκέλουσιν, ἐν δέ οὐα... Κέλλω est construit dans les *AO* avec l'acc. (1079), le dat. (471, 668, 743, 1209, 1243), ἐπὶ + dat. (634) et ὑπέρ + gén. (1034). La correction ἐπὶ est donc possible, mais elle ne s'impose pas.

43) Ἐπεὶ τέ a été corrigé en ἐπεὶ δέ, sans doute à tort: cf. Weinberger (267 s.) et, pour Apollonios, ma note à 4,323 (C.U.P., t.3, p.84).

44) C'est ainsi que les v.316 ss. mentionnés plus haut sont susceptibles des deux explications.

45) Cf. peut-être *AO* 385 τῷ δὲ καὶ (Hermann, τόπῳ καὶ Ω).

46) Venzke (45) observe justement que l'expression transcrit Ap.Rh., 1, 70.

47) Voir par ex. *Dion.*, 14,224 (catalogue des Ménades) ἔσπειτο σύννομος Ἀρπη / Οἰνάνθη.

48) Un datif τρόπῳ est attesté dans une scholie de Triclinius à Soph., *Aj.*, 1173.

49) Pour des cas analogues où la diphongue ει est comptée pour brève devant consonne, cf. Ch. Alexandre, éd. des *Oracles Sibyllins*, 2, p.604.

50) *AO*, 473, 816, 846, 1235. Au v.901, la correction τε, déjà faite par E, semble certaine (καὶ Ω, κε Ζ, δέ Σ).

51) Texte de Ω. Lire οὐλοπλάσια (Hermann): cf. οὐλοθυτέω, οὐλοχύται. Keydel (190) préfère οὐλοὶ πλάσια.

52) Voir le commentaire de Gesner.

53) A. Ludwich, *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 5, 1885, 1219 s.

54) La chute de οὐα s'expliquerait aisément si ces deux syllabes étaient écrites en abrégé, comme il est fréquent.

55) Ἐν δέ οὐα a une valeur adverbiale: voir ci-dessus la n. 66. On pourrait aussi envisager la conjecture de Schneider πολλὰ παραικατέθηκα.

56) Le serment scelle la convention. Les deux termes sont souvent réunis: cf. B 339 συνθεσται τε καὶ ὅρκια (d'où Ap.Rh., 4,1042), et *AO*, 306 ὅρκια συνθεστάμω.

57) Sitzler (167) propose en outre de corriger θέτεν en θάνη d'après δ 361. L'amendement ne s'impose pas.

58) On relève une faute analogue dans Ap.Rh., 4,285, où, en face de la lec ancienne τέμνετ' (τέμνετ *Fränkel*, *fort. recte*), le manuscrit récent D écrit τέπνετ'.

59) Au singulier χειρὶ donné par Ω, on préférera la correction de E χερσὶ; cf. v.533 χερῶν.

60) Pour éviter la difficulté de syntaxe, Wiel (59) proposait δισσαῖς (s.e. χερσὶ) οἱήτα νηδς. - Autres emplois d'ἀμπαλο: v.1285 ἐῆν δ' ἀμπαλον ἀσιδῆς, et 443 ἀμπαλον ἀσιδῆς (corrigé par Schneider en ἀσιδῆν: le génitif a été suscité par le v.436).

61) Cf. v.92 παθμένα γαίης, 893 παθμήν (6 -). L'argument n'est évidemment pas décisif, car le poète se montre très libre en ce domaine.

62) On note une confusion inverse entre ἵπτατο et ἵστατο dans *Or. Sib.*, 3,163.

63) Le poète se souvient sûrement de cet hymne où l'on lit au v.33 Πηλίου ἄρα κάροντα.

64) Dottin donne une traduction plus "noble", mais qui revient au même: "une peau de faon tacheté comme une panthère".

65) Si le participe vient d'ἐκνεύω, il signifie "se détournat de"; s'il vient d'ἐκνέω, le sens est "nageant (i.e. ramant) loin de".

66) Bien que le poète use souvent de prépositions superflues, il est probable que ἐν δ' ἄρα a une valeur adverbiale. La "particule de liaison" ἐν δὲ ou ἐν δ' ἄρα est attestée une vingtaine de fois: v.155, 293 (où l'on doit aussi la dissocier de ψωνῆι; une correction est superflue), 311 (si l'on adopte le texte proposé ci-dessus), 490 (où Heyne conjecturait ἐνθ' ἄρα), 612, 619, 645 (*Platt, Journ. of Philol.*, 1914, 265, conjecture sans raison ἐπὶ ou ἀν), 803, 897 et 898 (!), 911, 914, 920, 926, 929, 1138, 1170, 1183, 1205 (*Ἐνθ' ἄρ' Gesner*), 1300 (même conjecture de Gesner retenue par Schneider, Hermann et Abel). Cf. déjà Sitzler, 166.

67) Sur la synizèse en général, cf. les études de L. Radermacher, *SB. Ak. Wien*, 170 (1912), numéro 9; *W.S.*, 43, 1923, 92; *Philol. 84*, 1929, 257-59. Pour les *Oracles Sibyllins*, cf. Ch. Alexandre, t.2, p.605.

68) Pour abréger, je passe sous silence les *variae lectiones* mineures de ce vers. Il faut signaler seulement que la variante Πτεύην τ' n'apparaît que chez les *recc.*; on gardera donc l'asyndète entre les trois noms de villes.

69) L. Früchtel, *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 63, 1943, 6-8, considérait à tort que Βιαντιάδαι est impossible pour la métrique.

70) Cette conjecture, comme celle de Schneider, suppose un t bref, alors qu'il est normalement long (allongement métrique?) chez Apollonios (*passim*), Alexandre d'Étolie (fr. 6,2 Powell) et Val. Flacc., 5,7.

71) Cf. R. Kühner-F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik 2*, 177-79.

72) Hésychius atteste un homonyme formé sur κεῖμαι: κατεκείαθεν· κατεκοιμήθη.

73) Il va de soi qu'on pourrait aussi conjecturer (άφ)ορμηθέντος.

74) ΑΦΑΡΟΡΜΗC- devient par haplographie ΑΦΑΡΜΗC-, qui est corrigé ensuite en ΑΦΑΜΑΡΤΗC-.

75) Dottin omet ἀσχαλόν: on rectifiera ainsi sa traduction: "celui-ci volait angoissé".

76) Pour éviter cette absurdité, Gesner sous-entendait κατὰ: "Athéna envoyait un héron dans la région où se trouvait le haut de l'antenne".

77) Rappelons que δὲ en troisième ou quatrième position est fréquent dans les AO.

ARRIAN'S EXTENDED PREFACE

PHILIP A. STADTER

The second century A.D. saw a new flowering of Greco-Roman culture as the leading men of the Greek world were integrated at successively higher levels into imperial society.¹⁾ Greek writers turned to their classical heritage as to a treasury from which they could draw gold and jewels which they could remold or reset in the new designs required to express their own thoughts.²⁾ No one was more successful at this reworking of ancient riches than Arrian, the historian of Alexander the Great. Calling himself the new Xenophon, he imitated the *Memorabilia* in his record of the *Discourses* of his own teacher, Epictetus, and imitated and surpassed Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* in his own hunts. In his *Anabasis*, the influence of Xenophon is strong, but he draws heavily as well in style and thought on Herodotus and Thucydides.³⁾ It is his imitation of these authors which explains a peculiar feature of the *Anabasis*, examination of which will allow us to appreciate better Arrian's creative adaptation of classical models.

The beginning of Arrian's *Anabasis* falls into three parts: a preface in which he states his subject and sources, a narrative of Alexander's activities from his accession in 336 B.C. to his crossing over to Asia in spring 334 (1.1.1-12), and a second preface explaining Arrian's desire to praise Alexander and his own competency to do this (12.2-5). The reader is puzzled that Arrian makes two prefatory statements so close to each other at the beginning of his book. Why did he not include all his prefatory material in one passage, rather than interrupt his narrative of the great expedition against Persia as it was just beginning?⁴⁾ The intervening narrative is also problematic, at once too brief and too detailed. Arrian is silent on a number of important points, especially the circum-

stances of Philip's death and Alexander's rapid moves to secure the throne and all the complicated intrigue which served as background in Greece to Alexander's selection as hegemon by the Hellenic league. On the other hand, the battles in Thrace and Illyria are chronicled in precise detail, far greater than their intrinsic importance to the historian would warrant. The clue to Arrian's purpose in these introductory chapters, and therefore to his selection and arrangement of material, can be found in the similar introductions of Herodotus and Thucydides.

The preface of Herodotus consists of two statements expressing the historian's opinion, the first sentence and 1.5.3-4, separated by a Persian account (with a Phoenician variant) of how the dispute between Greeks and barbarians began.⁵⁾ In the two sections where Herodotus speaks on his own behalf, he justifies his work on the basis of purpose and method: A. Purpose: 1. The preservation of the record. 2. Praise of great *erga*. B. Method: 1. Fixing the responsibility for the wars between Greeks and barbarians. 2. Equal treatment for large and small cities, since human prosperity is unstable.

The statement of purpose is found in Herodotus' first sentence. The notion of responsibility ties together the two statements, appearing at the end of the introductory sentence and resuming at 5.3 with Herodotus' statement that he has his own opinion of who began the sequence of wrongs. The final assertion of impartiality (5.3-4) develops a notion implicit in the introductory sentence, that greatness declines, and establishes one of the major themes of the whole work, the rise and fall of states as a function of the human condition.⁶⁾ The intervening accounts of the Persians and Phoenicians (1.1.1-5.2), which at first seem a digression, grow out of the idea of responsibility introduced in the opening sentence, but also serve to introduce the reader to a number of Herodotean themes. The most obvious general theme is that of reciprocal responsibility, that is, that the action of one party causes a reaction by the other, establishing a pattern of injury and vengeance to which no end is apparent. This is part of the larger notion of *dike* in history, seen as balancing of transgressions on both the personal and international level. The accounts further stress the separation and opposition of Europe and Asia, culminating in the

Persian opinion that Asia belonged to them, while Europe and the Greek world were separate.

These accounts also demonstrate some aspects of Herodotus' historical method, most especially his use of sources. He has inquired of knowledgeable Persians, compared their story with the Hellenic tradition (1.3; 2.1) and the version of Phoenician informants (5.1-2), and has added clarifications of his own (1.2, on the ancient importance of Argos; 2.1, the Cretans). At the same time, however, he reserves judgment on the truth of the stories ("I will not say whether these events occurred in this way or some other"). The narrative explains by example what Herodotus had meant in the introduction by *historie* and by his reference to both Greek and barbarian *erga*. The narrative also confirms the statement of impartiality toward great and small cities (5.3-4), since Herodotus notes that Argos was much more important in the past than it is now (2.1).

The two personal statements of Herodotus, then, are not so much separated as joined by the intervening narrative, which develops ideas implicit or explicit in these statements and gives examples of Herodotus' historical method and of the themes which he will present in the whole work.

The format of Herodotus' preface is elaborated and extended by Thucydides. Although there has been some debate on the exact limits and nature of the preface, the following analysis, based on the work of Pohlenz and Bizer, accepts as given that it ends at 1.23.3.⁷⁾ As with Herodotus, the preface falls into three parts, two direct statements on the purpose and method of the history (1.1.1-3 and 1.22.1-23.3), separated by an extended historical account, the investigation of the capabilities for war in preceding ages (1.2.1-21.2). The two direct statements show standard proemial themes justifying the publication of the work: A. Method (Accuracy): 1. Began when the war started (1.1). 2. Use of inference based on economic and political realities (resources, the common action of many cities: 1.1; 20.1; 21.1). 3. Testing of accounts (20.1-3; 21.1; 22.2-3). 4. Autopsy (22.1). 5. Interviews with eyewitnesses (22.1-3). B. Importance of subject: the greatest war (1.1-3; 23.1-3). C. Purpose: 1. To set forth the truth of events (22.4). 2. To be useful for the future (22.4). The major elements of

these statements are the arguments for the greatness of the war, the scientific care which the author will use in investigating events and which will ensure the accuracy of his narrative, and the purpose which requires that accuracy, to serve as a reliable record for future men.

The narrative which separates the two accounts serves most obviously to prove the greatness of the war. It functions as well as an example of historical method, as Thucydides expressly states in chapters 20 and 21, since it uses inference from several sources, including the poetic tradition (especially Homer) and tombs on Delos, and the givens of human nature to reconstruct the past. Moreover, this selection allows the reader to discover in past history the motifs and criteria which will be essential to Thucydides' presentation and interpretation of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides repeatedly emphasizes in his account here the role of factors such as monetary surpluses, settled populations, walled cities, and a navy, and of historical processes such as the state's growth in power through subjugation of weaker peoples, and the loss of that power through war or *stasis*.⁸⁾ In sum, the material found between the two proemial statements is not casually chosen, but is meant to reinforce and illustrate these statements, so that the whole of chapters 1 to 23 must be seen as one unit. Both Herodotus and Thucydides use this combination of proemial statements and illustrative narrative, which I call an extended preface, to introduce their histories.

The structure of Arrian's introductory chapters so markedly reflects that of Herodotus and especially Thucydides that it is apparent that he wished to imitate this feature from them. To what extent does the later author imitate the use to which his classical models put this structure? Does the intervening narrative in Arrian, as in Herodotus and Thucydides, reinforce and illustrate the prefatory statements which frame it?

As has been noted by Schepens,⁹⁾ Arrian set out to write the history of Alexander the Great nearly five hundred years after his death, when innumerable historians had already done so before him, and so could not "evade the question of the justification of his subject, nor the problem of the relationship of his own work to the extant literature on Alexander." Arrian

states his position in his two proemial statements, which closely associate the statement of the subject, Alexander and Alexander's deeds, with his own justification for undertaking the work. This justification is treated under three major topics: *a.* the choice and use of his sources (pref. 1-2). *b.* the suitability of the subject (1.12.2-4). *c.* his own capacity to write worthily about Alexander (1.12.4-5).

His historical method will naturally be very different from that of Herodotus and Thucydides, since Arrian is so far removed from the events: he cannot question men from Macedonia or Greece learned in lore of the past or interrogate eyewitnesses. He must rely on the written record, but he takes pains to explain his criteria for selection of the authors at the base of his account and how he treats disagreements existing between them and with other authors. Ptolemy and Aristobulus both were eyewitnesses to the expedition, yet wrote only after Alexander's death, when the most obvious reasons for distortion were removed. Arrian will follow these when they agree and otherwise will select stories on the basis of credibility and narrative interest. Having said this, Arrian throws down a challenge to his public: if they still wonder that he should decide to write yet another history of Alexander, "let them first read those others, and then mine, and then let them wonder." This said, he plunges at once into his history of Alexander.

The narrative does not pause again until Arrian has brought Alexander, at the beginning of his Persian expedition, across the Hellespont and to the tomb of Achilles at Troy. There Alexander called Achilles fortunate, in that he had found Homer as herald for his fame in time to come. This sentence, and the comments of Arrian which follow, interweave the two remaining topics, the greatness of the subject of the work, Alexander, and the skill of his historian, Arrian. Arrian moves from the obvious association of Achilles and his poet, Homer, to other men of action and the men who have guaranteed their fame: the Sicilian tyrants and the choral poets who celebrated their victories and Xenophon's march and the history describing it. Great men deserve great works of literature to establish their fame. None was so great as Alexander, yet despite all the works

written about him none had ever done him justice. "Hence, I assert that I have set out to write this history, considering myself not unworthy to publish to the world the deeds of Alexander." Arrian proudly puts himself in a class with Homer, Pindar, and Xenophon as one able to celebrate great deeds. His history will not simply be more accurate, but better than all those which have preceded it. The excellence is demanded by the subject matter, Alexander's extraordinary deeds, and by the purpose of the work, to celebrate Alexander worthily. Arrian bases his estimate of his own ability on "these writings" (*οὗτες οἱ λόγοι*), which have been his native land, family, and offices since his youth. Alexander's greatness is based upon his deeds, Arrian's upon his writings, and Arrian considers himself "worthy of the first rank in the Greek language, if indeed Alexander is worthy [as he is] of the first rank in arms."

Arrian's challenge at the end of the preface, and the boast in 1.12.4-5, would be empty and ridiculous unless the narrative between the two passages justified and confirmed them. When Arrian says "let him read my writings," and asserts that "these writings" are his claim to an excellence on a par with the greatest writers of classical past, he is urging the reader to read and evaluate his narrative of Alexander's European campaigns and to decide for himself whether it demonstrates the success of his method, the superiority of Alexander's accomplishments, and his own ability to present them to the world. There is no doubt that the account of the European campaigns prepares us to believe that "no other single man has manifested such great and numerous deeds, whether in number or in magnitude, among either Greeks or barbarians," as Alexander (1.12.4). Arrian's narrative vividly describes Alexander's military genius at work in diverse circumstances.

The variety of obstacles to be overcome in the campaigns of 335 and the precise detail in which they are described make the battles seem almost textbook cases in the tactical use of phalanx, cavalry, and light-armed archers and slingers. Consider what the situations represented:

1. Forcing a steep mountain pass (against the Thracians on Mt. Haemus, 1.6-13).
2. Using archers to drive an enemy from a protected position in a wooded area into the open, so that it could be attacked by

the phalanx (against the Triballians south of the Danube, 2.4-7).

3. The night crossing of a major river using local dugouts and tents stuffed with straw (the raid across the Danube against the Getae, 3.5-4.5).

4. Dislodging an enemy from a strong position by first confusing and awing them with rapid and precise drill maneuvers (at Pellion, 6.1-4).

5. The rescue of a foraging mission (at Pellion, 5.9-11).

6. Crossing a river in retreat while under constant threat of attack, using careful staging of troop movements and finally catapults and archers to protect the crossing of the last contingent (at Pellion, 5.6-8).

7. A surprise night attack on an enemy camp, using picked troops (at Pellion, 6.9-11).

8. A forced march through mountainous terrain (from Pellion to Thebes in fourteen days, 7.4-6).

9. The siege and capture of a major Greek city (Thebes, 7.7-8.8).

On two occasions Alexander was forced to withdraw: his attack on the island of Peuke in the Danube was unsuccessful because of the small number of ships available, the steepness of the island's banks, and the speed of the river current at that spot (3.3-4), and the siege of Pellion had to be abandoned when the surrounding hills were occupied by the troops of Glaucias (5.5-8). In both cases Arrian gives suitable reasons for the need to retreat, although he does not explain why Alexander decided to attack in the first place. On each occasion Alexander compensates for the setback by a victory. At the Danube, he crosses the river to ravage the land of the Getae and destroy their village; at Pellion, he returns in a few days to surprise the barbarians in their camps and force them to abandon the city.

The hallmarks of Alexander's activity in these campaigns are speed and flexibility of response. His ability to move his army and deploy his forces rapidly is indicated by the frequent references to the time required for a march¹⁰⁾ and especially to the surprise and confusion of the enemy: the Getae, when they find Alexander on the north bank of the Danube (4.3), the Illyrians encamped at Pellion, victims of a night attack when they thought that Alexander had been forced to withdraw, and the Theban patriots, when it was announced that Alexander had entered Boeotia. Tactical flexibility is apparent in each engagement of these campaigns, for every situation which confronted Alexander was particular and required a different response. Alexander's principal decisions in each case are precisely explained by Arrian.¹¹⁾ In these actions we note especially Alexander's imaginative use of missiles, whether arrows, slingshots, or catapult bolts, to protect the advance of the phalanx (1.11-12), to drive the enemy from cover (2.4), to protect a river crossing (6.6-8), and to defend the army

against skirmishers (7.8-9). Arrian follows carefully the movements of other units as well. For instance, his narrative of the raid across the Danube specifies the handling of the cavalry according to the situation: first behind the phalanx, as the army marches through the grain fields, then on the right wing as the army prepares to meet the enemy, and finally in the lead as the phalanx marches rapidly to the Getic village (4.1-4). Each unit (archers, phalanx, cavalry, Agrianes and hypaspists) has its special functions, which are integrated in new combinations according to the requirements of the situation.

The splendid discipline of Alexander's army is implied throughout the narrative: it could not have been easy to get soldiers to float across the Danube on stuffed tents, to endure the long forced marches, or to remain calm when making the retreat across the river from Pellion. The most impressive evidence for the discipline is in Alexander's handling of the threat of the Thracian wagons at the Haemus pass. Arrian presents matter-of-factly what seems almost incredible, that the phalanx could keep its order while dividing to allow the Thracian wagons to pass, or even falling flat to allow them to go over their locked shields. But in any case, Arrian's narrative gives a strong impression of the soldiers' discipline and Alexander's hold over his men. The drill exercise at Pellion gives us an indication of the training which had brought Alexander's army to this condition.

As in the rest of his history, Arrian in the narrative of 1.1.1-12.1 shapes his narrative so as to put Alexander's actions in the most favorable light.¹²⁾ Therefore he records the devotion which Alexander was able to inspire in men such as Langaros, the king of the Agrianes (5.1-4), insists that Alexander showed great patience in handling the Theban revolt (7.7-11), and notes his moderation toward the anti-Macedonians at Athens (10.4-6). The destruction of Thebes, the action which especially contributed to his bad reputation in the Greek world, is described as the terrible catastrophe it was, but Arrian absolves Alexander of much of the responsibility, attributing the decision rather to the enemies of Thebes among the Greeks. Conscious literary artifice is evident in Arrian's reflection on the destruction of Thebes (1.9). The impact upon the Greeks of the fall of the ancient city is developed first by an extended comparison (a standard means of rhetorical *auxesis*) with similar disasters recorded by Thucydides and

Xenophon. Arrian recalls the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, the collapse of Athens after Aegospotami, the Spartan losses at Leuctra and Mantinea, and finally the destruction and enslavement of Plataea, Melos, and Skione. The long, elaborately constructed sentences enhance the dignity of the thought, as does the repetition of key words: ἐκπλήττω, πάθος, παράλογος.¹³⁾

Arrian imitates Thucydides here in the frequent use of abstract nouns (especially in -σις) as substantives, as well as specific borrowings (e.g. the noun ὁ παράλογος at 9.1, 4, 5).¹⁴⁾ Alexander's arrival at the Danube provokes a shorter rhetorical presentation of the greatness of the river through the listing of the nations through which it flows, and ending with Herodotean echoes in the reference to the five mouths of the Danube and in the Ionic form ἐκδιδοῦ.¹⁵⁾

The selection and omission of incidents is an essential part of the historian's skill. We have noted already that Arrian has chosen and presented incidents in such a way that they interpret and enhance Alexander's victories in the North and West and the drama of the destruction of Thebes. Equally important is his treatment of the first and last sections of the introductory narrative, the events of 336 (1.1-3) and those of winter 335 and spring 334 (11.1-12.1). Like the accounts of the campaigns of 335, these are seen as preparatory to the Persian expedition which will be the great showcase of Alexander's genius. In the first section Alexander is chosen leader of the united Hellenic expedition against Persia, the two middle sections show him ensuring quiet in Europe, and the last begins the expedition proper with the crossing into Asia. Arrian stays aloof from any discussion of the death of Philip or Alexander's steps to ensure his hold on the Macedonian throne, apparently because he is not ready yet to talk about Alexander's attitude toward power or his relations with the Macedonian nobles. Those questions will come in their own time, in Book IV, when he will narrate the deaths of Cleitus and Callisthenes. His refusal to give more than the briefest possible account of the opposition to Alexander in Greece and of the political and military factors behind his choice as leader permitted him to move at once into his narrative of these military campaigns where his genius was most apparent. The famous

scene of Alexander's encounter with Diogenes, so well evoked by Plutarch in his life of Alexander, rates not a word in Arrian: or rather, not here, for he makes good use of it at the beginning of Book VII, when he is considering Alexander's ambitions (7.2.1.).¹⁶⁾ While Plutarch prefers to reveal Alexander's character through anecdote, Arrian rushes through the events of 335 so that he can present as soon as possible the evidence of military genius which justifies the work.

In chapters 11 and 12, on the other hand, Arrian adds anecdotes to the basic narrative, using stories taken from other writers to supplement Ptolemy and Aristobulus and place the invasion of Asia in the context of heroic endeavor. The festival in honor of the Muses and the omen of the sweating Orpheus introduce the concept of the close relation between the hero and the writer which is one of the major topics of the second proem. Thereafter, various stories connected with the crossing of the Hellespont and Alexander's visit to Troy recall the other great intercontinental expeditions: the Trojan War sung by Homer and the Persian Wars epically described by Herodotus. The figure of Protesilaus, whose fate Herodotus also recalled and connected with the defeat of Persia by the Greeks, is another reminder that Alexander's action fits in a long tradition of deeds celebrated in both epic and history. In focusing upon the heroic aspects of the invasion of Asia, Arrian finds no reason or occasion to mention that Parmenio and Attalus had already been sent to Asia by Philip in 336, had fought there, and were responsible for the bridgehead which permitted Alexander's army to cross without opposition.¹⁷⁾

The shaping of the narrative by inclusion and exclusion of incidents related by different authors on the basis of "credibility and narrative interest" is a fundamental principle of Arrian's technique. Certainly it was his choice of Ptolemy and Aristobulus that allowed him to include as many specifics as he did in the description of the European campaigns. His two citations of Ptolemy in this section each establish details which were probably not available elsewhere, the precise figure for the casualties suffered by the Macedonians and the Triballians (2.7) and the fact that Perdiccas, not Alexander, was responsible for initiating the attack on Thebes (8.1). Yet

Arrian even in using the authors he most trusts, Aristobulus and Ptolemy, exercises an independent judgment, as can be documented in two cases. Plutarch twice tells the story of Timocleia, the Theban woman who killed one of Alexander's men after the Macedonian victory. When brought before Alexander she bravely asserted her right to defend her virtue, and so won Alexander's admiration and protection. The biographer ascribes the story to Aristobulus, and cites it as an example of a particularly delightful story: "who would not rather read the story of Timocleia... than sleep with the most beautiful woman in the world?" Yet Arrian suppresses it, whether because he found it incredible or more likely because it did not fit his own treatment of the fall of Thebes which focused on the enormous impression made by the disaster, which was greater than any previously experienced by a Greek city.¹⁸⁾

On the other side of the coin, we can document to some extent how Arrian retold a story which he found in Ptolemy. Strabo attributes to that author, in fact, an account of Alexander's meeting with the Celts which parallels Arrian 1.4.6-8:

Anabasis 1.4.6-8

Ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις
ὡς Ἀλεξανδρὸν παρά τε τῶν ἄλ-
λων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικ-
εῖ τῷ "Ιστρῷ καὶ παρὰ Σύρου
τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως· καὶ
παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰο-
νίῳ κόλπῳ φύισιμένων ἦν· με-
γάλοι οἱ Κελτοί τὰ σώματα καὶ
μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονοῦντες·
πάντες δὲ φιλίας τῆς Ἀλεξάν-
δρου ἐφιέμενοι ἤκειν ἔφασαν·
καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλεξ-
ανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε· τοὺς Κελτοὺς
δὲ καὶ ἤρετο, ὃ τι μάλιστα δε-
δίττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπί-
νων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα δύνομα
τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔς Κελτοὺς καὶ
ἔτι προσωτέρω ἤκει καὶ ὅτι
αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι
φήσουσι. τῷ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα
ευνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις·
οἷα γάρ πόρρω τε φύισιμένοι
Ἀλεξανδρού καὶ χωρία δύσ-
πορα οἰκοῦντες καὶ Ἀλεξάν-
δρού ἔς ἄλλα τὴν δύμήν δρῶν-
τες ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε

Strabo 7.3.8 (*FGrHist* 138 F 2)

Φησὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ
Λάγου κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρα-
τείαν συμμῖξαι τῷ Ἀλεξάν-
δρῳ Κελτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Ἀδρίαν φιλίας καὶ ἔνιας
χάριν. δεξάμενον δὲ αὐτοὺς
φιλοφρόνως τὸν βασιλέα ἐρέσ-
θαι παρὰ πότον, τί μάλιστα
εἴη δὲ φοβοῖντο, νομίζοντα
αὐτὸν ἔρειν· αὐτοὺς δέ ἀπο-
κρίνασθαι, δτι οὐδένα, πλὴν
εἰ ἄρα μὴ δὲ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς
ἐπιπέσοι, φιλίαν γε μὴν
ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου περὶ παντὸς
τίθεσθαι.

ὅ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι,
 Ἀλέξανδρὸν τε ἀγασθέντες
 οὕτε δέει οὕτε κατ' ὠφέλει-
 αν πρεσβεῦσαι παρ' αὐτὸν.
 καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ὁνο-
 μάσας καὶ ἔνυμάχους ποιη-
 σάμενος ὅπ' οώ ἀπέπεμψε,
 τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών δτι ἀλα-
 ζόνες Κελτοί εἰσιν.

Strabo introduces this story as an example of the simplicity and sincerity of the barbarians of northern Europe.¹⁹⁾ The emphasis is on the Celts' lack of fear and their desire for the friendship of a great man. Arrian's version of the anecdote is more elaborate, more artfully expressed and more subtle. The Celts' reply in both accounts is the same, but in Arrian the setting and final comment by Alexander give the whole a moralistic and ironic tone not present in Strabo. Examination reveals that the two elements in Arrian which make the anecdote especially memorable have no parallel in Strabo: the characterization of the Celts as big physically and thinking big of themselves and Alexander's vain expectation that "his great name had arrived as far as the Celts and even farther." The adjectives μεγάλοι and μέγα applied to the Celts (emphasized by asyndeton and paronomasia) are in turn associated with Alexander, who is proud of his μέγα ὄνομα. The anecdote thus is made to turn not on the simplicity of the Celts but on the vanity shared by the Celts and Alexander. The king's final comment, that the Celts were braggarts, leads the reader to the point of the story, that Alexander himself hungered for fame. Arrian in this way suggests an irony not apparent to Alexander. By adding a few words characterizing the Celts and explaining the thinking of Alexander and the Celts about each other, Arrian has transformed the simple anecdote recorded by Strabo, with its emphasis on the quaint phrase of the Celts ("they feared only lest the sky should fall") to a revealing example of Alexander's preoccupation with his own glory, one of the major themes of the *Anabasis*.²⁰⁾ It is of course Arrian's purpose in his history to give Alexander the glory he deserves, so that his name would be known (1.12.4). Alexander's name will be famous, but is not yet.

In comparing these two versions of the same story, we may note also minor stylistic changes which effect the whole. The common Greek φοβοῦματ has been changed to the Attic δεδίττοματ; ἀγαματ has been used in the Attic sense (especially common in Xenophon) of "admire," and Thucydidean expressions such as τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, παρ' ἐλπίδα and οὐτε δέει οὐτε κατ' ὠφέλειαν have appeared. Nevertheless, many words are exactly the same, so that we can be sure that Arrian had Ptolemy before him, but reshaped the story stylistically and thematically to fit his own narrative.

When Arrian wrote the opening chapters of the *Anabasis*, then, he conceived the whole segment from the preface to 1.12.5 as an extended preface in the Herodotean and Thucydidean manner and used the narrative separating the two proemial statements to illustrate and reinforce those statements. The topics of the proemial statements, Alexander's greatness, Arrian's skill as writer, and his selection and use of sources are exemplified in the narrative. The narrative serves to justify the composition of the *Anabasis* and to confirm Arrian's decision to write. In this as in so much else, Arrian demonstrated his capacity to imitate creatively the masters of classical historiography.

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NOTES

1) It is a pleasure to offer this small piece illustrating one aspect of the continuity of the classical tradition to Professor Turyn, who has done so much to clarify the history of that tradition from archaic to Byzantine times.

2) See, for example, B.P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des II^e et III^e siècle après J.C.* (Paris 1971), G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969), and E.L. Bowie, "Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic," *Past & Present* 46 (1970) 3-41, reprinted with some additional material in *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M.I. Finley (London and Boston 1974), 166-209. Studies of individual authors have also been fruitful, such as C.P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 1978).

3) See in general P.A. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (Chapel Hill 1980), E. Schwartz, *RE*, s.v. Arrianus 9, II (1896) 1230-47, reprinted in Schwartz, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber* (Leipzig 1959), 130-55. For Arrian and Xenophon, see also Stadter, "Xenophon in Arrian's *Cynegeticus*," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 157-67, and H. Doulcet, *Quid Xenophonti debuerit Flavius Arrianus* (Paris

1882). Stylistic echoes from the three classical historians are studied by H.R. Grundmann, "Quid in elocutione Arriani Herodoto debeatur," *Berliner Studien* 2 (1885) 177-268. See also E. Meyer, *De Arriano Thucydideo* (Rostoch 1877).

4) Herodotus' internal preface at the beginning of *Xerxes'* expedition against Greece (7.20-21) serves a different purpose, being far removed from the initial preface.

5) On the preface of Herodotus much has been written. In my analysis I follow especially H.R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus* (Cleveland 1966) 80 f. I do not agree with those, such as T. Krischer, *Hermes* 93 (1965) 159-67, and H. Erbse, *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich 1956), 209-22, who attempt to limit the proem to the first sentence. See also Immerwahr, "Aspects of Historical Causation in Herodotus," *TAPA* 87 (1957) 241-80, esp. 247-51, with bibliography.

6) On the implications of Herodotus' statement on large and small cities, see Immerwahr, "Causation," 250.

7) See F. Bizer, *Untersuchungen zur Archäologie des Thukydides* (Diss. Tübingen 1937), and M. Pohlenz, "Thukydidesstudien," *Nachr. Götts.* 1920, 68-79.

8) See, e.g., J. de Romilly, *Histoire et raison chez Thucydide* (Paris 1956) 260-73, A.G. Woodhead, *Thucydides on the Nature of Power* (Cambridge 1970) 12 f., and H.R. Immerwahr, "Pathology of Power and the Speeches in Thucydides," in *The Speeches of Thucydides* (Chapel Hill 1973), ed. P.A. Stadter, pp.16-31, esp. 16-22.

9) Guido Schepens, "Arrian's View of his Task as Alexander-Historian," *Ancient Society* 2 (1971) 254-68, esp. p.254. On Arrian's proemial statements in general see Stadter, *Arrian*, pp.60-66.

10) At *Anab.* 1.1.5; 3.1; 4.5; 7.5; 7.7, and 11.5.

11) Arrian regularly describes engagements in four stages: (a) Alexander is confronted by a situation, the tactical difficulties of which are set forth; (b) he forms a plan to cope with the difficulties and gives precise orders to his troops, frequently containing instructions for contingencies potential in the situation; (c) the engagement takes place, and all occurs as he had envisioned; (d) the success is marked by the flight of the enemy, often after tremendous casualties. A typical case is the first engagement in Arrian's narrative, the encounter with the autonomous Thracians on Mt. Haemus: see the analysis in Stadter, *Arrian*, pp.91 f., and L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (n. p., 1960) 205. Many see this technique as a feature taken over by Arrian from Ptolemy: see H. Strasburger, *Ptolemaios und Alexander* (Leipzig 1934) 16-23, G. Wirth, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemaios I als Schriftsteller und Historiker," XXIII. 2 (1959) at 2469-74; Pearson, *Lost Histories*, pp.198-206.

12) See my treatment of this point in *Arrian*, 89-114.

13) Note especially the sentence at 9.2-4 (three sentences, 28.5 lines) and 9.6-7 (one sentence, 18 lines).

14) Abstract nouns in -σις: αἴσθησις, ἐκπληξις, καθαίρεσις, παράδοσις, στέρησις, ἄλωσις; in -της: ὀξύτης, ταπεινότης, σμικρότης.

15) Cf. *Hdt.* 4.48-50.

16) The beginning of *Anabasis* VII is carefully composed, combining anecdotes from various moments into a general comment on Alexander's ambition: see E. Badian, "A King's Notebooks," *HSCP* 72 (1967) 183-204, esp. 192 f., and Stadter, *Arrian*, 86 and 110.

17) The words "it is said" or similar expression remind us that the incidents in 11.1-12.1 almost certainly were not found in Arrian's twin authorities, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, but form part of the *legomena* added for their narrative interest mentioned in the preface. Cf. Stadter, *Arrian*, pp.74-76. The stories connected with Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont are examined by H.U. Instinsky, *Alexander der Grosse am Hellespont* (Godesberg 1949).

18) Plutarch *Alexander* 12 & *Mul. Virt.* 259 D - 260 D; *Non posse suav. viv.* 1093 C (*FGrHist* 139 F 2). On Arrian's treatment of the Theban episode, see Stadter, *Arrian*, pp.92 f. It is apparent that here as elsewhere Arrian shunned the "romanticized" Alexander so dear to other extant Alexander-historians.

19) Strabo may have gotten this story through Posidonius rather than directly: see Jacoby, *FGrHist*, Commentary to 138, pp. 499; 501.

20) Cf. Stadter, *Arrian*, 111 f.; A.B. Breebaart, *Enige historiografische aspecten van Arrianus' Anabasis Alexandri* (Leiden 1960) 117 ff.; and, e.g., *Anab.* 7.2.2., ἐκ δέξης γὰρ δεινῶς ἐκρατεῖτο.

PS.-JUSTIN, COHORTATIO: A LOST EDITIO PRINCEPS?

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

It is common knowledge that *Cohortatio ad Graecos*--along with ten other treatises, genuine and spurious, attributed to Justin the Martyr--has been first published by Robertus Stephanus (Paris, 1551, pp.9-31) from cod. Parisinus 450 a. 1364 (= C in Otto¹⁾). Some editors of Justin, however, notably Prudentius Maranus (Paris, 1742 = P.G. VI, p.9) and Otto (C. A., III, p. XXXIII), were aware of an earlier--apparently lost--edition of *Cohortatio*: *Quem librum ut ipse nanciscerer mihi non contigit*, wrote Otto.

Now, I was able to locate and study two copies of this *editio princeps* of *Cohortatio*: one at the University Library Cambridge (F 153.d.4.11¹), the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Byw[ater] P.1.6¹). It consists of 52 pages (α I-IV, β I-IV, γ I-IV, δ I-IV, ε I-IV, ζ I-IV, η I-II) and its title is: ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ / ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ / ΔΟΓΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΤΙΚΟΣ / ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ. / Parisiis. In aedibus Carolae Guillardae, ad Solem aureum, via Iacobea. M.D.XXXIX. The colophon reads: Parisiis / Excudebat Ioannes Lodoicus, / M.D.XXXIX.

We will call this first edition of 1539 (which is twelve years earlier than Stephanus' edition) *Pr(inceps)*. It has no preface: Justin's Vita from *Suda* is printed instead. It comes either from the ed. pr. of *Suda* (by Demetrius Chalcondyles, Milan, 1499) or from the Aldine edition (1514), for *Pr* shares with those editions Chalcondyles' improvisation at II, p.646.2-4 Adler, εύθη Κρίσιην... φοβούμενον <πάνυ κατήσχυνεν ἀποδείξας> for the transmitted εύθύνων Κρίσιην... φοβούμενον.

If we now ask: what is the source and the value of *Pr*, my answer will be: *Pr* prints throughout the text of cod. Parisinus 19 s.XVI (= D in Otto, p.XII), without paying attention to its marginal corrections (compare below, I ad *Coh.* 26.6; 26.20;

28.39; 32.14). Except in a few cases where Pr anticipates Stephanus' emendations (such as, e.g., *Coh. c.2* n[ote] 32 Otto μιν [= Homer] for the transmitted περ), it has no value as far as establishing the text of *Cohortatio* is concerned. It is so because the source of Pr, D -- along with G (= cod. Gissensis 669 s.XVI) -- is no more than an apograph from B (= cod. Par. 174 s.XI), through a lost intermediary, and B in its turn is no more than an apograph from the famous Arethas' Codex copied by Baanes in A.D. 914 (A = cod. Par. 451, ff.163^V-187^V).

Consequently, A is the only extant reliable manuscript of *Cohortatio*, and where it breaks up (at 36 n.10 Otto οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν), then the oldest extant apographs of A: B s.XI (ff. 110^r-112^r) and C a.1364 (ff. 47^r-58^r). It is a merit of Adolf von Harnack²⁾ to have shown that B is an apograph from A. That was in 1882. Otto in 1879 did not know that. Harnack's discovery opened the way for a first critical edition of *Cohortatio*, and such a one has been prepared by the present author (almost one century after Harnack's pioneering study!).

It remains for me to prove, as briefly as possible, (1) that Pr is a copy of D (and D only); (2) that DG are apographs from B (through a lost intermediary).

I. Pr = D

Coh. c.1 n(ote) 13 Otto τῆς om. D Pr. 5.6 εἰ om. D Pr. 5.17 παρ' 'Ομῆρου D^{ss} man.rec. Pr : παρ' αὐτοῦ D et cett. 9.16 ἀρχαιολογίαν om. D Pr. 9.29 κρίναντος D Pr : κρίναντας et κρίναντα cett. 12.11 εὑρίσκειν D, εὑρίσκειν Pr : εὑρίσειν cett. 12.19 λέληθε D Pr : λέληθε cett. 15.24 δρκίλω D Pr : δρκίζω cett. 15.25 post φθέγξατο πρῶτον verba 'ἡνίκα κόσμον διπάντα ἐαῖς στρέψατο βουλαῖς.' Τί βούλεται τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν. 'Αύδην δρκίζω σε πατρός, τὴν φθέγξατο πρῶτον;' ob repetitionem om. D Pr. 17.7 ἵνα om. D Pr. 19.1 συμβόλου D Pr : συμβόλων cett. 21.11 ὄντος D Pr : ὄντων cett. 21.12 τοῦ θεοῦ D^{ss} Pr : τῶν θεῶν cett. 24.9 δοκεῖ ὅμηρος D Pr : δημ. δοκ. cett. (ὅμηρος G). 24.14 ὄντως om. D Pr. 25.5 οὖν om. D Pr. 26.6 περὶ αὐτῶν D in textu, Pr : παρ' αὐτῶν cett. (et D in mg.). 26.20 ξυναίρει D Pr : ξυναρρεῖ C B^{man.rec.} (et D in mg.) : ξυναρρι A. 28.39 περὶ D Pr : πρὸς cett. (et D in mg.). 30.14 αἰνίζειν D Pr : ἀινίζεις B G : ἀεινίζεις A C. 32.9 ςτερον om. D Pr. 32.11 τούτῳ om. D Pr. 32.14 φέρεται D Pr : φαίνεται recte cett. (et D in mg.). 33.4 μετ' ούρανοῦ recte D Pr : μετ' ούρανὸν cett. 36.5 δημολογεῖν εἰδέναι D Pr : εἰδ. δημ. A B G. 73.2 δυνατῆς om. D Pr.

37.20 λέγοντες D Pr (et Plato) : om. B C G.

II. D = G

2.42 τοὺς θεοὺς D G : αὐτοὺς θεοὺς B : θεοὺς A. 3.8 γνώμην D G : δόξαν cett. 4.11 τῶν δὲ ἀέρα om. D G. 9.9 ἴστοριῶν om. D G. 12.20 ἀρχαίων D G : ἀρχαῖος cett. 13.6 οἰκέταις D G : ὑπηρέταις cett. 15.15 Δία τὸν D G : τὸν διὰ cett. 18.6 περὶ ψυχὴν D G : παρὰ ψυχὴν cett. 19.5 post ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς repetunt εἶναι λέγειν D G. 24.3 τοῦτο D G : ταῦτ' cett. 25.28 ἔλλησιν D G (et C in mg.) : ἔλληναν A B. 26.5 τῷ θεῷ φίλους D G : θεοῦ φίλους cett. 27.11 πάντα om. D G. 28.17 προγόνων DG : πραφητῶν cett. 28.34 εἰς om. D G. 29.9 καὶ οὕτως ποιήσαντες om. D G. 36.2 τυγχάνοντες D G : τυχόντες cett. 36.22 εἶναι D G (recte) : εἰδέναι cett.

III. D G < B

13.21 κομίζεσθαι B D G : προκομίζεσθαι A. 17.11 θεὸν σημαίνων B D G : σ. θ. A. 19.11 πάσας ἐπισκοπῶν τὰς γενέσιας B D G : ἐ. π. γ. A. 22.20 τὰ δῆματα BDG : τὰ δῆματα recte A. 24.11 τῆς ἀντανυμίας B D G : τῇ ἀντανυμίᾳ A. 26.8 φόβος B D G : δέος A (et Plato). 27.23 τὸν περὶ ιρίσεως λόγον παρὰ τῶν πραφητῶν μεμαθηκέναι B D G : τὸν περὶ ιρ. παρὰ τῶν πραφ. μεμαθ. λόγον A. 28.7 μετέθηκε B D G : μετήνεγκεν A. 28.15 παιδίον B D G : πεδίον recte A. 28.16 τούτου B D G : τούτων A. 28.35 ἔσαντοῖς φῶντο δύνασθαι κατασκευάζειν B D G : δύν. κατ. ἔσαντ. φῶντο A. 32.16 ἀρετὰς τέσσαρας B D G : τ. ἀρ. A. 35.7 εἰς B D G : om. A C. 36.27 πολυθεῖας B D G : πολυθεότητος recte C (desideratur A). 37.5 σημείων B D G : σημείοις recte C.

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NOTES

1) *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*. Ed. Io. Car. Th. eques de Otto. Vol. III, ed. tertia, Ienae, 1879, p. XI f.

2) Adolf Harnack, *Die Ueberlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der altchristlichen Literatur*, 1-2 (Leipzig, 1882), esp. p. 86.

LE TEXTE DE LA VIE DE PYTHAGORE DE PORPHYRE

ÉDOUARD DES PLACES, S.J.

Les manuscrits. La *Vie de Pythagore* nous a été conservée par un certain nombre de manuscrits, mais un seul paraît fournir la base du texte. C'est B, (Oxford) Bodleianus misc. gr. 251 = Auct. T. 4, 13, f. 171^r-185^v. Ce parchemin, de la fin du XI^e siècle ou du début du XII^e, avait appartenu aux Saibante de Vérone et entra à la Bodléienne en 1820 avec d'autres manuscrits de la même collection. Comme ce manuscrit (désigné alors du sigle S) est aussi la source unique des *Entretiens d'Épicteète* (f. 3^r-170^v), c'est dans l'*editio maior* de H. Schenkl (*Dissertationes...*, Leipzig, 1916²) qu'on en trouve la description détaillée (p. LIV-LV et LXI-LXIII). Il se termine au milieu d'une phrase, sur le mot *ιστοποῦσι* (p. 52,9 N²).

Dès 1853, le catalogue de Coxe conjecturait que tous les autres témoins de la *Vie de Pythagore* dépendaient de B, et en 1870 V. Rose confirmait cette dépendance¹⁾; il publiait ensuite la collation qu'I. Bywater avait faite pour lui sur la première édition Nauck (1860)². Grâce au Dr Nigel Wilson, j'ai pu, à mon tour, collationner sur une photocopie à pleine page et ensuite revoir à la Bodléienne les folios qui contiennent la *Vie*, sans d'ailleurs prendre en défaut le travail de Bywater, sauf peut-être sur un point: p. 21,8 N², le manuscrit donne clairement ἐπ' ἔξουσίᾳ au lieu d' ἔξουσίᾳ λαβεῖν, leçon de MVLW; or ici Bywater et Nauck sont muets. Les lacunes dues à la tache qui rend illisible une partie du f. 185^v (fin du § 59 et début de 60) se retrouvent dans les manuscrits qui se terminent comme B et forment avec lui la première famille.

Parmi les scolies de B communiquées à Nauck par Bywater³⁾, j'ai retenu comme Nauck celles qui semblaient plus intéressantes; on en trouvera le texte en appendice, avec les vari-

antes aux manuscrits de base. Comme celles d'Épictète, elles pourrait remonter à Aréthas⁴⁾.

Première famille (avec B). M, Marcianus graecus XI 30 f (coll. 976,3), de la fin du XVI^e siècle, contient divers écrits mathématiques (Héron d'Alexandrie...), puis la *Vie de Pythagore* (f. 253^r-264^v), qui termine le manuscrit⁵⁾. C'est la copie fidèle de B; il en partage les lacunes aux p. 25,5-10 et 18-21; 27,1-3, et signale par une note les blancs du modèle. Le plus souvent, c'est B corrigé qu'il reproduit: p. 20,17 et 19 "Αμωσιν; 32,16 ἀλεξάμενος; 35,4 λύπης; 36,14; 42,16; 46,14. Il connaît la main récente B³, avec laquelle il est d'accord en 26,23 (B³ in rasura) et 28,16 (B³ in marg.). Il lui arrive pourtant de se séparer de B; son τὸν de 38,1 et son διεδάσκειν de 50,20 ont passé dans l'édition princeps, dont il a pu être une source. En 34,1, il a le δὲ omis par B. En 31,12, il a τε au lieu du δὲ de B. Parfois aussi il est d'accord contre B avec les autres manuscrits: en 21,8, il a comme eux ἐξουσίαν λαβεῖν; en 17,12, il a le πύρραν de VL. L'orthographie est souvent celle de B avant correction: beaucoup de ν éphelcystiques devant consonne. Cette antiquité mérite la préférence.

Mon. 530, Monacensis graecus 530 (appendice, "p. 83, n° 36"), du XVI^e siècle, a la *Vie*, paginée de 1 à 23. Je l'ai collationné sur la photocopie excellente que m'a procurée mon collègue P. Nober, mais le cite surtout dans les derniers chapitres. Il a les mêmes lacunes que BM. - P. 19,21, il a ἐτι δὲ καὶ comme B et l'édition princeps. - P. 20,17 et 19, il a "Αμωσιν, seul à lui donner l'esprit rude. - P. 26,23, son σώματα ἀνών lui est commun avec B³ in marg. et M. - P. 27,5, il lit ἦν comme l' "ed. Holst.", dont il pourrait être une source.

Restent les trois Ambrosiani. A la suite de la collation de B due à Bywater, A.M. Ceriani, préfet de l'Ambrosienne, signale trois copies sur papier de la fin du XVI^e et du début du XVII^e siècle, cotées 704 (Q. 121 Sup., f. 20-31 et de nouveau 32-45) et 1046 (I. 30 Inf., f. 85-106)⁶⁾. Ces copies ont pu "transcrire B directement" (V. Rose); mais le fait qu'elles

se terminent comme lui, avec les mêmes lacunes, ne suffit pas à le prouver, étant donné que deux manuscrits de la seconde famille, V et Mon. 91, dont il va être question, finissent à 50,15 avec un folio: le folio suivant a disparu dans les deux manuscrits⁷⁾.

Seconde famille. La seconde famille comprend trois manuscrits qui s'arrêtent à 50,15 μέχρι πολλῶν.

V, Vaticanus graecus 325, manuscrit de papier du XIV^e siècle maintenant divisé en deux volumes, contient: 1^o Arrien, *Entretiens d'Épictète*, f. 1^r-109^r; 2^o la *Vie*, f. 109^r-115^v; 3^o Arrien, *Anabase*, f. 116^r-281^v; 4^o Porphyre, *De abstinentia*, f. 282^r-325^r⁸⁾. C'est peut-être, comme pour Épictète, la copie directe du Bodleianus, qu'il suivait avant que B fût corrigé (τοσαύτης 42,16) ou d'après lequel il a été corrigé ultérieurement (χωλὰ 42,9). Il a cependant des leçons originales (έξουσίαν λαβεῖν 21,8) et a conservé plusieurs lignes (25,18-21; 27,1-3) qui manquent dans B. Comme ces lignes ont été grattées⁹⁾, il a pu les y lire avant le grattage (ce qu'il n'a pu faire pour 25,5-10, qui manquent chez lui comme dans B et ne se lisent que chez Cyrille); mais s'il les a trouvées dans un manuscrit aujourd'hui perdu, il serait plutôt un jumeau de B.

L, Leidensis B.P.G. 33 D, olim Meermannianus, vers 1540, contient la *Vie* aux folios 41^r-47^v. Il a comme V πύρραν 17,12; έξουσίαν λαβεῖν 21,8; et semble copié sur V avant que celui-ci fût corrigé (κωφὰ 42,9), mais il a lui-même été corrigé d'après B: βασιάνων L^{a.c.}, βασιάνως L^{p.c.} (46,17). Avant la *Vie*, il contient le *De abstinentia* (f. 1^r-40^v); après elle, le 1^{er} livre de l'*Anabase* d'Arrien (f. 48-56); ce contenu le rapproche encore de V¹⁰⁾.

Mon. 91, Monacensis graecus 91, du XVI^e siècle, contient, "entre autres textes variés", le *De abstinentia* et les *Sententiae* de Porphyre, celles-ci après la *Vie* (f. 373^v-382^r), "écrite de la même main que la *De abstinentia*"¹¹⁾. Il est plus souvent d'accord avec V et ne sera mentionné qu'incidemment, comme il l'était déjà par Nauck, dont j'ai utilisé la collation, publiée en 1860 dans les prolégomènes de sa première

édition (p. X-XVII). C'est une source possible de l'édition princeps, qui a pu lui emprunter l'*εὐκαρπον* de 37,7.

W, Vindobonensis philos.-philol. graecus 225, du XV^e siècle¹²⁾, contient, - après d'autres œuvres (commentaire d'Héroclès sur les *Vers d'or*, f. 1^V-59^V; *Sentences pythagoriciennes* rééditées par H. Chadwick en 1959, f. 60^r-63^V; Michel Psellus, *De omnifaria doctrina*, f. 106^r-139^V, - la *Vie* en deux morceaux séparés par divers textes: f. 140^r-148^V et 155^{r-v}.

Il est difficile de rattacher W à l'une des deux familles. Il s'accorde avec le seul B en 27,12 (*δὲ καὶ*), avec B³ en 22,10 (il a *ἀνδρωθὲν i.r.*) et 28,16 (*πρός τε ἐαυτήν*), mais non en 26,23, où B³ a la correction (après grattage) *σώματα ἀνθρώπων* avec M. Il s'accorde avec VL en 30,5 (*προειπεῖν*) et 40,14 (*ταύτην*). Il a seul la bonne leçon en 42,13 (*άει* sans *καὶ*; c'était une des conjectures d'Usener) et 42,14 (*προβιβάζων*); mais là après correction: *ante correctionem*, il écrivait *προσβιβάζων* comme les autres témoins.

Du reste, on y relève en assez grand nombre des fautes (*οὕτος* pour *οὕτως* et *ἄπασιν* pour *ἄπασιν*, 21,21; *ὅσοι* pour *ὅτι* 32,2) et des omissions de mots ou de groupes de mots: *τεταγμένον* 24,20; *καὶ πᾶν* - *περι-* 45,22-23 (il a *εἰληφότα* sans *περι-*); *πυθομένους* - *Λόκρους* 48,12-13; *έπι* - *πρός* 48,13-14. Avec BMLV, W sera constamment cité dans l'apparat.

La tradition indirecte. La tradition indirecte se réduit aux citations de Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans le *Contra Julianum* (P.G. 76). Elles ont permis à Nauck de reconstituer en partie l'*Histoire de la philosophie de Porphyre*¹³⁾. Celles de la *Vie de Pythagore* figurent à leur place dans son appareil et (comme *testes*) dans le nôtre. La liste en a été dressée par R.M. Grant, qui omet seulement la citation des §§ 18-19 en P.G. 76, 820 c¹⁴⁾. Il y aurait peut-être encore à glaner dans l'œuvre de Cyrille¹⁵⁾.

D'après P. Burguière, qui prépare l'édition du *Contra Julianum* pour la série "Sources chrétiennes", voici les principaux manuscrits du traité, avec un classement provisoire:

M = Marcianus graecus 123, du XIII^e siècle
 N = Marcianus graecus 124, due XV^e siècle
 V = Marcianus graecus 122, du XIV^e siècle

B = Monac. gr. 65, du XIV^e siècle
 C = Berolin. gr. 40, du XV^e siècle
 E = Scorial. Ω - III (5.534), du XVI^e siècle
 P = Paris. gr. 1261, du XVI^e siècle
 F = Scorial. Ψ - III (12.463), du XIV^e siècle.

P. Burguière n'a pas tenu compte, vu sans doute sa date tardive, du Paris. suppl. gr. 424, du XVII^e siècle, que j'appellerais S. Ses indications précisent et parfois rectifient celles de Nauck; "Cyr." sans plus désigne l'accord des manuscrits.

Les éditions. Dans la préface de sa seconde édition (Leipzig, 1886), A. Nauck dit l'essentiel de celles qui l'ont précédée (p. VII-VIII). Voici quelques précisions.

1^o L'édition princeps est celle de C. Rittershausen: *Malchus De Vita Pythagorae Nunc primum ex MSC. in lucem editus a Cunrado Rittershusio, professore Norico, cum eiusdem notis, ad Cl. V. ... Danielem Heinsium. Altorfii, excud. Cunradus Agricola, Anno 1610.*

La dédicace à Heinsius (une page non numérotée) n'indique pas le manuscrit utilisé. Celui-ci appartenait à la première famille. En effet, l'édition se termine à ιστοποῦσι (§ 61), où s'arrêtent B, M, Mon. 530. Elle a les mêmes lacunes aux §§ 16-19 (p. 25,5-10 et 18-21; p. 27,1-3). Ce qui donne à croire que le modèle était M plutôt que B¹⁶⁾, c'est que dans la note à la p. 50,20 l'éditeur attribue à *MSC noster* la leçon διδάσκειν, qui est celle de M, non de B; il est vrai que les Ambrosiani l'ont aussi, et Rittershausen a pu suivre l'un d'eux. Quand Nauck écrit "ed. pr.", on ne peut donc savoir quel manuscrit a utilisé l'éditeur; et l'apparat désignera du nom de Rittershausen les leçons empruntées à son texte comme les conjectures de ses notes. Après le texte de la *Vie*, paginé 3-39, viennent sans pagination ces notes, puis le texte grec de *Pythagoricae sententiae* avec sous-titres latins.

2^o La seconde édition de la *Vie* est en même temps l'édition princeps des *Sententiae*¹⁷⁾: *Porphyrii Philosophi liber de vita Pythagorae. Eiusdem Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes. De Antro Nymphaeum, quod in Odyssea describitur. Lucas Holstenius latine vertit, dissertationem de vita et scriptis Porphyrii et ad vitam Pythagorae observationes adiecit. Romae typis Vaticanis 1630.*

Cette édition comprend, texte et traduction sur deux colonnes: p.1-42, la *Vie*, p.43-56, *Anonyme sur la Vie de Pythagore (ex Photii bibliotheca cod. 259 L. Holstenio interprete)*; p.57-98, les *Sentences*; p.99-135, *De antro nympharum*; p.136-147, *Alia appendix Sententiarum (= Sent. 41-45)*;

p.148-153, *De Styge*. Viennent ensuite deux index non paginés (*auctorum; verborum et rerum*); puis, avec nouvelle pagination, (p.1-91) *Lucae Holstenii de vita et scriptis Porphyrii dissertatio*; (p.93-122) *Observationes ad vitam Pythagorae* (§§ 1-26).

L'édition de la *Vie* n'a pas les lacunes de la première famille, et le modèle suivi est le chef de file de la seconde, V, le *Vaticanus* que Holste cite plusieurs fois ainsi. Pour les §§ 59 (à partir de 50,15 γενεῶν) et 60-61, Holste a dû se servir de l'édition princeps, dont il corrige légèrement les restitutions au début du § 60. Comme pour Rittershausen, j'ai attribué lectures et conjectures à "Holste" sans distinguer entre les "ed. Holst." et les "Holstenius" de Nauck.

3° L'édition d'I. Valentinus (Cambridge, 1665) a plutôt gâté qu'amélioré celle de Holste¹⁸⁾.

4° A la suite du *De vita pythagorica* de Jamblique, L. Kuster a repris la *Vie de Pythagore*, sans rien de nouveau: *Iamblichus de vita pythagorica liber, Graece et latine... a Ludolpho Kusterio. (Versionem latinam confecit... Ulricus Obrechtus)*. Accedit *Malchus sive Porphyrius de vita Pythagorae cum notis Lucae Holstenii et Conradi Rittershausii. Item anonymous apud Photium de vita Pythagorae. Amstelodami, apud... Petzoldum, 1707.*

5° Les deux Vies voisinent également dans l'édition de T. Kiessling: *Iamblichus Chalcidensis ex Coele-Syria de vita pythagorica liber. Graece et latine. Textum post Ludolphum Kusterum ad fidem codd. mss. recognovit, Ulrici Obrechti interpretationem latinam passim mutavit, Kusteri aliorumque animadversionibus adiecit suas M. Theophilus Kiessling. Pars prior, Lipsiae, Vogel, 1815, p.XVI + 574. Pars posterior, ibid., 1816, p.331: Accedunt praeter Porphyrium de vita Pythagorae cum notis Lucae Holstenii et Conradi Rittershusii, itemque anonymous apud Photium de Vita Pythagorae, variae lectiones in Iamblichus librum tertium... et quartum... e codice Cizensi enotatae.*

6° A. Westermann donne le texte de la *Vie*, avec quelques bonnes conjectures, à la suite du Diogène Laërce de Firmin Didot, Paris, 1850, 2^e partie, p.87-101.

7° La première édition d'A. Nauck (Leipzig, 1860) utilise l'édition princeps et le Mon. gr. 91; la seconde (1886), la collation de B par I. Bywater¹⁹⁾ et celle de V par V. Iernstedt et A.M. Desrousseaux; elle ne cite qu'en trois endroits le Mon. 91²⁰⁾. Parmi ses trop nombreuses conjectures, beaucoup sont excellentes; certaines se trouvent confirmées par

un manuscrit que Nauck ne connaissait pas et qui remplace alors son nom dans l'apparat; c'est surtout le cas de W.

Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Roma

NOTES

- 1) V. Rose, "Porphyrius", *Hermes* 5, 1871, p.360.
- 2) *Ibid.*, p.362-366.
- 3) *Ibid.*, p.366-368.
- 4) Cf. H. Schenkl, ap. *Epicteti dissertationes ab Arriano digestas*,² *ed. maior*, Leipzig, 1916, p.LXXX; J. Souilhé, ap. Épictète, *Entretiens*, livre I, Paris, 1943, p.LXXII.
- 5) Cf. la description d'E. Mioni, ap. *Codices graeci manuscripti bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum*, III, 1972, p.156.
- 6) A. Ceriani, *Hermes*, 5, 1871, p.368-370; cf. V. Rose, *ibid.*, p.370.
- 7) A. Nauck, *Porphyrii opuscula selecta*,² Leipzig, 1886, p.IX.
- 8) Cf. J. Bouffartigue et M. Patillon, ap. *Porphyre, De l'abstinence*, I, Paris, 1977, p.LXXI: ce n'est pas le seul manuscrit qui contienne à la fois la Vie et le *De abstinentia*, mais "la tradition qui tend à (les) réunir remonte à la confection de V."
- 9) V. Rose (*Hermes*, 5, 1871, p.370) les attribue à "un lecteur humaniste du XV^e siècle, soucieux d'épargner ces erreurs à Porphyre."
- 10) Cf. J. Bouffartigue et M. Patillon, *ibid.*, p.LXXI-LXXII, et la description de K.A. Meyier, ap. *Bibliotheca Univ. Leidensis, Codices manuscripti VIII (bibliothecae publicae Graeci)*, Leyde, 1965, p.44-45.
- 11) Cf. J. Bouffartigue et M. Patillon, *ibid.*, p.LXII; ils datent le manuscrit du XVI^e siècle, non plus des XIV^e-XV^e comme le catalogue de 1806. Et voir la description d'E. Lamberz, ap. *Porphyrii sententiae*, Leipzig, 1975, p.XI-XII.
- 12) Cf. les descriptions de H. Hunger, *Katalog der griech. Hss. der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Teil I: *Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologicci*, Vienne, 1961, p.336-338, et de F.W. Köhler, *Textgeschichte von Hierokles' Kommentar zum Carmen aureum der Pythagoreer*, Diss. Münster, 1965, p.89-93.
- 13) A. Nauck, 1886, p.3-16.
- 14) R.M. Grant, "Greek Literature in the treatise *De Trinitate* and Cyril *Contra Julianum*" (*Journal of Theol. St.*, N.S.15, 1964, p.265-279), p.274.
- 15) Cf. W.J. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity. The Conflict between Hellenic and Christian in the 'Contra Galilaeos' of Julian the Apostate and the 'Contra Julianum' of St. Cyril of Alexandria*, Rome, 1978, p.259 n.67.
- 16) D'après V. Rose, l'édition princeps repose sur une copie directe du Saibantianus (B), exécutée pour Rittershausen ("lors de son voyage en Italie?"); "Rittershausen n'a certainement pas vu lui-même le Saibantianus" (*Hermes*, 5, 1871, p.361).
- 17) Cf. E. Lamberz, *Porphyrii sententiae*, Leipzig, 1975, p.LV et n.3.
- 18) *Idem, ibidem*, p.LVII et n.1.
- 19) *Hermes*, 5, 1871, p.362-366.
- 20) Cf. A. Nauck, 1886, p.IX-X.

THE CRITIQUES OF ISOCRATES' STYLE IN PHOTIUS' BIBLIOTHECA

JOHN J. BATEMAN

The twelve codices devoted to the Attic Orators in Photius' *Bibliotheca* have stimulated an indigestible amount of philosophical investigation. I hesitate to add to it, but the two codices on Isocrates, 159 and 260, contain separate, short critiques of Isocrates' style which look very different in content and seem unlikely to be produced by the same person. They thus pose an interesting question and René Henry, the latest editor of the *Bibliotheca*, invites his reader to compare them.¹⁾ This paper attempts such a comparison. For the convenience of my own reader I quote here the two passages from Henry's edition.

I) Cod. 159: II p.121 Henry = 102 b 4-19 Bekker Κέχρηται δὲ μάλιστα μέν, ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι δῆλον, εὔκρινείᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι, πολλὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λόγων ἐπιδείκνυται, ὥστε καὶ εἰς περιττὸν αὐτῷ διεκπίπτειν τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελές. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐργασίας πλεονάζον παρ' αὐτῷ οὐ τὸ γόνιμον μᾶλλον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἢ τὸ ἀπειρόναλον παριστᾶ. ⁷ Ήδος δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ γοργότης οὐδὲ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ. Μεγέθους δὲ αὐτῷ δύσον εἰς τὸν πολιτικὸν ἐναρμόζει λόγον, ἀριστα καὶ παραπλησίως κέκραταν τῇ σαφηνείᾳ. "Ατονος δὲ πλέον τοῦ δέοντος δὲ λόγος. Οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ σμικρολογίαν καὶ τὸ προσκορές τῶν παροιώσεων αἰτιᾶται. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φαμεν πρὸς τὴν ἐν λόγοις αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν τὸ ἐκπῖπτον ἐκείνης καὶ ἀνόμοιον ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε ἐνίους τῶν γράφειν λόγους ἐπαιρομένων ἀρεταὶ δὲ δόξωσι καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐλαττώματα.

II) Cod. 260: VIII p.47 Henry = 487 b 26-32 B. Τῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτοῦ τὸ εὔκρινές καὶ σαφές καὶ μεμελετημένον πᾶσι δῆλον, καὶ ὡς ἐπανθεῖ αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον ἔμφυτον ἀλλὰ καὶ κομμωτικὸν κάλλος. Οὐ μέντοι γε πολυσχήμαν δὲ ἀνήρ, οὐδὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τροπαῖς ποιηιλλόμενος. Διὸ καὶ δι' ἔνδειαν τῆς ἐν τούτοις μεταβολῆς οὐδὲ ἐναγώνιος. Ἰσοκρατικὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑποστάσεων ἡ συνέχεια.

The opening sentence of each critique contains a judgment about Isocrates' style which reflects in part his own view of himself and was certainly formed early in the critical tra-

dition. This judgment sees the chief characteristics of his style as clarity in diction and careful execution in composition. These are of course qualities which Isocrates himself claimed for his style. Likewise the third element in common, the observation that Isocrates' style is unsuited for dicanic or demagogic speaking, corresponds to Isocrates' personal views though he would doubtless not agree with the particular emphasis given this fact in the critical tradition. To this extent both critiques contain a consensus which appears to go back to the late fourth or early third century.²⁾ To search for specific sources of these general notions is futile and the problem of how these and the other elements in the two critiques eventually reached Photius is, as Ziegler says, unsolvable.³⁾ But analysis of the two critiques as autonomous parts of their respective codices may still be suggestive.

The critique in Cod.159 consists of three distinct parts. The first part is a kind of rhetorical paragraph from the formulaic opening word *μέχρονται* to the concluding *τῇ σαφηνείᾳ* which repeats the content of the opening clause. The concepts and language employed here come entirely from Hermogenes.⁴⁾ Six of the seven major Ideas are used: two in a positive fashion to show what Isocrates excells in--Clarity and Grandeur (though the latter is qualified), three negatively--Ethos, Realism, and Vigor--to show what is lacking in his style. The employment of the Idea of Beauty is rather ambivalent. Meticolous execution (*ἐπιμέλεια*) is a good quality of style, but when carried to excess, especially in the use of parisoses as Isocrates does, it becomes a weakness and a sign of lack of taste. Photius evidently has in view the observations which Hermogenes makes about Isocrates in his discussion of Beauty (*De Id.* 12 p.301 R.). In fact, it looks as though Photius' ultimate source for this part of his critique is Hermogenes' own criticism of Isocrates which appears elsewhere in the *On Ideas* (II p.397.14-17 R.).

In Hermogenes' view of literature Isocrates is an author of *πολιτικὸς λόγος*. Political discourse is a mixture and union of the Ideas of Beauty, Character and Realism (*De Id.* II.11 p.395 R.). But treating Isocrates' style from this point of view presents an immediate problem; his style is at best only a partial realization of this mixture of Ideas.

Consequently Hermogenes' critique develops in a series of antitheses and qualifications: (A.) Isocrates is a political writer (a.) ($\muέν$) because he has purity and limpidity (i.e. the Idea of Clarity), (b.) ($\deltaέ$) but he lacks the Ideas of Character and Realism (i.e. the other two required ingredients of the normal mixture). (B.) However ($\muέντοι$), he abounds in the Ideas of Beauty and Grandeur (a.) except that his interest in Beauty eliminates 'vehemence' and 'roughness' (elements of the Idea of Grandeur), (b.) and he effects 'enlargement' (another element of Grandeur) (i) less by the procedures of method and diction, (ii) but ($\deltaέ$) most through the thought. (C.) And/But ($\deltaέ$) he is completely without the Idea of Vigor, (a.) but ($\deltaέ$)⁵ is relaxed, diffuse and repetitive in the manner of the elderly and teachers.⁶⁾ (b.) And/But ($\deltaέ$) he is excessive in his avoidance of natural Realism and in his elaborate constructions as if making a display of his capacity to discover thoughts without saying anything really pertinent. (This sentence, which repeats in Hermogenes' own language the substance of the preceding sentence, is further explanation of why Isocrates lacks Vigor. This statement is followed by a comparison with Demosthenes which is as long as the rest of the critique.) (D.) However ($\muέντοι$), he also has a good deal of the Idea of methodical *Deinotes* (i.e. his use of rhetorical techniques is patent and undisguised).

The same pattern of antitheses and qualifications appears in the first part of Photius' critique but with some suggestive differences. First, the omission of any reference to the Idea of *Deinotes* may or may not be inadvertent. Hermogenes' single sentence, coming at the very end of his discussion, could have been overlooked or disregarded if one believed that Isocrates in fact lacked this quality.⁷⁾ But more importantly, the Hermogenic contrasts have been made more trenchant and concentrated into a single major antithesis between the presence of the Ideas of Clarity and Beauty on the one hand and the absence of the Ideas of Character, Realism and Vigor on the other. Hermogenes' triple qualification about Grandeur in Isocrates has been abbreviated into a paraphrase ($\deltaοον εις τὸν πολιτικὸν ἐναρμόζει λόγον$) which has hardly any meaning without the Hermogenic original. Photius combines Grandeur with Clarity whereas Hermogenes joins it rather with the Idea of Beauty and Execution. Similarly, the view that Isocrates' $\epsilon\piιμέλεια$ is simultaneously the source of his strength and his weakness is differently located in the two critiques. Despite the similarities

these differences might seem to cast doubt on the assumption of any close connection between the two. However, at one point Photius (or his immediate source) appears to be directly correcting Hermogenes. Hermogenes relates Isocrates' ἐργαστὰ to his inventiveness (εὔρεσις ἐννοιῶν). Photius, however, denies that they are a mark of mental fertility (τὸ γόνιμον) and attributes them to a lack of taste (τὸ ἀπειρόκαλον). In Hermogenic terms ἀπειρόκαλα would be the inability to recognize the point at which discourse is no longer beautifully symmetrical. Ἀπειρόκαλος is a fourth century B.C. word and this particular criticism could have been made against Isocrates at any time, but the combination here with τὸ γόνιμον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων looks like a specific comment on Hermogenes' own opinion. But whether Photius made this correction himself or is drawing on some earlier critic is difficult to say. The use of antitheses and the organization of the observations on style in positive and then negative sections are found in many other codices and appear to be characteristic of Photius' own criticisms of style.⁸⁾

Cod. 160, for example, begins with a criticism of Choricius' style which certainly looks modeled on the immediately preceding critique of Isocrates. The same Hermogenic Ideas are employed; in fact, ἀλήθεια, the Idea of stylistic Naturalism or Realism apparently occurs only in these two critiques and not elsewhere in the *Bibliotheca*. Both authors have similar qualities of diction, but unlike Isocrates whose ἀπειρόκαλα leads him into excessive compositional elaboration, Choricius understands καιρός (a key ingredient in the Idea of *Deinotes*), uses *peribole* properly (εἰς τὸ χοῖσιμον; Hermogenes in the observation corrected by Photius had said of Isocrates πολλὰ οὐ χοῖσιμας λέγων p.397.27 R.), and does not spoil his clarity by the length of his periods. This description of Choricius' style is stated in an antithesis between Clarity in diction on the one hand and the avoided misuse of Grandeur which could ruin clarity on the other. The antithesis is artificial and forced when read by itself, but becomes understandable when we realize that it is shaped by the latent contrast with Isocrates in Photius' mind. But Choricius' diction has some negative aspects which are then stated in a new sentence that also concludes the critique. The sentence structure of the Choricius critique is loose and rambling compared to the more tightly organized critique of Isocrates. This probably means only that Photius was composing the Choricius critique entirely on his own whereas he had access

to other critical comment on Isocrates. The positive/negative pattern is a commentary technique which was in use as early as II century A.D.⁹⁾

Vonach is certainly correct in denying that Photius was transcribing Hermogenes in Cod.159, but it seems equally certain that this part of the critique could not have taken the form it has without the model of Hermogenes.¹⁰⁾ For this reason alone Ofenloch's inclusion of this passage among the fragments of Caecilius of Calacte is misguided.¹¹⁾ One is less sure, however, about the next two sentences in the critique, from ἀτονος to αἰτιαται. Henry doubts that Photius went "picorant" through works of literary criticism while composing his notices.¹²⁾ But in literary matters Photius' notices do have the appearance at times of magpie nests. Whether he copied the Hermogenic criticism from some source on some occasion or constructed it himself for the present notice, he realized that it omits an important element in the traditional criticism of Isocrates' style, its ἀτονία. This concept is implicitly referred to by Hermogenes when he comments on the relaxed character and lack of Vigor in Isocrates' writing, but it does not have any real function in his literary theory and criticism, and indeed rests on a fundamentally different conception of style.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes Isocrates' style as ἀτονος and lacking in "firm wrestling holds" (*De Dem.* 20 p.169.16 Us.-R.). A few lines later (p.170.12-14) he replaces these metaphors with the terms "lifeless" (ἀψυχος), "emotionless" (ού παθητική), and "without the least portion of breath" (πνεῦμα). Life, emotion and breath are the attributes which one needs most in "combative speeches" (ἐναγματίος λόγοις). Isocrates sacrifices that pungency which hits the hearer like a blow to oily smoothness and pleasure (p.171.4-8). Nor does Isocrates employ the varied figures designed for contests and capable of arousing listeners' feelings, but instead puerile parisoses, frigid antitheses and the like (*ibid.* 8-13). Nowhere do we meet "turns" (τροπαι) and "variations" (μεταβολαι) and "variegated figures" (ποικιλια σχημάτων) which by their own nature relieve mental weariness (p.172.1-3). Dionysius is describing certain psychological effects of style which he sees residing partly in diction, but mostly in composition and whose presence makes a style "combative", that is, useful for speeches in actual forensic and deliberative situations, but which can also have an emotional effect on the uninvolved reader like himself. In c.22 in the famous comparison of Isocrates and Demosthenes this emotional effect

is associated primarily with delivery which is conceived as a πνεῦμα embodied in the words themselves of the speeches (p.177.12-178.2). Although Dionysius is describing here his own experience, the criticism and stance he takes have antecedents which can be traced back to Demetrius of Phalerum and Theophrastus.¹³⁾ Dionysius himself has preserved some of the evidence (*De Isocr. 13*), but the clearest statement of this critical concept occurs in a fragment of Hieronymus of Rhodes found in Philodemus, *De Rhet.* 4, Col.XVI^a13-XVIII^a8, I pp.198-200 S.). Hieronymus observes that Isocrates' speeches can be read well enough, but do not allow a genuinely oratorial delivery because the style is "lifeless, unlistenable to, and made to a single tone; it has rejected change, variation or relief gained from heightening and lowering tones or through emotional transpositions of words; it is everywhere a slave of smoothness." This combination or linkage of emotion, auditory effect and composition, described by Hieronymus and Dionysius, is summed up in the term *τόνος*. From the time of Hieronymus certainly and possibly even Theophrastus Isocrates' style is characterized as *ἀτόνος* with particular reference to his periods which lack the variety, tautness, and emotional impact necessary for effective speaking.¹⁴⁾ Persuasive as distinct from merely pleasurable speaking is called *λόγος ἐναγών-**τος* and embodies *λέξις ἀγωτική* in contrast to the *λέξις γραμμή* of works intended for recitation or reading. This contrast between 'deliverable' and 'readable' styles was extended to drama¹⁵⁾ and perhaps to other kinds of literature too. It was one of Theophrastus' major contributions to rhetorical and literary theory, but it became largely meaningless by the second century A.D. even if some of the concepts and terms associated with it linger on in the scholastic tradition.¹⁶⁾

The notion then of Isocrates' *ἀτονία*, whatever this term was thought to mean, was a commonplace. Hence we cannot really say where or how Photius came across it. It appears in Cod.61 in his critique of Aeschines' style: "In regard to composition Aeschines is not too *ἀτονος* like Isocrates nor compressed and tightly knit like Lysias, but matches Demosthenes in πνεῦμα and *τόνος*."¹⁷⁾ The statement in Cod.159 is evidently a link from the "chain of tradition." A more important question than its origin is whether this link can be attached to the one in the following sentence, Οὐχ ἤκιστα... αἴτιαται. Ofenloch wondered, naturally, whether the unidentified subject of αἴτιαται was Caecilius.¹⁸⁾ There are no solid grounds for confirming or denying this possibility. Philodemus and Dionysius inform us

about the early Peripatetic criticism of Isocrates' long periods and their consequent inadequacy for actual oratory while Dionysius singles out the use of parisosis and the other Gorgianic figures for particular criticism in this respect. We know that Theophrastus had criticized Lysias for just these faults; quite mistakenly in Dionysius' view (*De Lys.* 14). If Theophrastus criticized Lysias on these grounds in his *On Style*, it is an easy inference that he had something similar to say about Isocrates and thus anticipated his successors, Demetrius, Philonicus and Hieronymus.¹⁹⁾

Μικρολογία is an Isocratean word used to describe the inadequacies of his competitors (cf. e.g. 13.8; 15.2). One can imagine the term being hurled back at him in derision of his own claims to careful writing on highminded subjects. A witty critic looking at Isocrates' view of the relationship between λόγος and ψυχή might well delight in connecting his μικροψυχία with μικρολογία. This is of course speculation. Unlike words such as περιττολογία or μακρολογία and βραχυλογία, μικρολογία does not seem to be a technical term of literary criticism and its reference is not directly apparent. In the present sentence it is clearly connected with the boring use of the Gorgianic figures as a cause of ἀτονία. Accordingly a clue to what is being attacked by this nameless critic can be found in Dionysius' critique of Isocrates' style where after stating that Isocrates' incessant use of antitheses wearies and disgusts listeners, he explains this effect as the result of the repeated use of words like: οὐ μὲν γάρ ἡμεῖς δέ, *<καί·>* κάκεῖνοι *μὲν* ἡμεῖς δέ, *>καί· τότε μὲν νῦν δέ, καί· δοον οὐ μὲν ἡμεῖς δέ, καί· τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο δέ* (*De Dem.* 20 p.171.16-23). So too the author of *On the Sublime* in order to illustrate the effectiveness of Demosthenes' varied use of asyndeta and epanaphoras, rewrites a Demosthenic sentence by adding connectors--in the manner of Isocrates (c.21). Μικρολογία appears to be the fussy use of little words whose presence dilutes the psychological impact of what is being said. The result, in the inimitable style of the author of *On the Sublime*, is to sand the words smooth, leave them no points for goading the soul, and quench any emotion before it begins. This says precisely what Dionysius had said and in a context which associates figures of speech with emotion and delivery.²⁰⁾ Our nameless

critic was evidently working in the same tradition, which we have identified with the Peripatetics. In view of the wide influence of this tradition there seems little prospect of discovering his name.²¹⁾

The same critical tradition also appears in Cod.260. The critique in this codex likewise begins with the distinction between clarity and purity in diction and meticulous execution (τὸ μεμελετημένον) in composition. Although the language of the first sentence can be easily paralleled from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other extant critics, Photius or his source seems to be thinking again primarily in Hermogenic terms though without explicitly mentioning the Ideas.²²⁾ From Hermogenes' point of view κομματικὸν καλλος (= ἐπιμέλεια) is produced by καλὰ σχήματα and the other elements of composition comprised by the Idea of Beauty. Hence the next sentence begins with a μέντοι because Isocrates is traditionally οὐ πολυσχήμων. However, the antitheses and the positive/negative sequence which Photius likes to employ are not in themselves sufficient grounds for immediately assuming his authorship of this critique. Moreover, the critique does not continue in a specifically Hermogenic vein unlike that in Cod.159. Instead we meet language which appears to be a fusion of the Peripatetic criticism with the doctrine of figures associated with Caecilius of Calacte.²³⁾ However, the same ideas and terminology also occur in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Though not going into details, he had remarked: "Isocrates differs little from Lysias' style in the use of figures and employs them only moderately" (*De Isocr.* 2 p.56.18 f. Us.-R.). These are the "combative" figures and not the Gorgianic figures whose excessive use Dionysius criticizes so sharply. Dionysius also emphasized the absence of *metabole*, variation, as another reason for the failure of Isocrates' style to be combative.²⁴⁾ The compound second sentence of Photius' critique is clearly of one piece and related in content to the second part of the critique in Cod.159 even though the technical terminology seems on the surface quite different.

The practice of including a judgment on an author's style in his *Vita* may be seen in the Marcellinus *Life of Thucydides* and the Lives ascribed to Zosimus.²⁵⁾ The latter's *Life of Isocrates* is especially pertinent because it suggests the nature of the source from which Cod.260 was drawn either

directly or (more likely) through the intermediate stage of a collection of such Lives.²⁶⁾ After recounting various "facts" about Isocrates's career, his pupils, and the speeches intended for delivery or recitation by others, Zosimus adds the following brief critique of Isocrates' style (p.105,2-10 D.).

ἀξιον δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τάνδρος εἰπεῖν. ήδη μὲν οὖν προφθάσαντες εἰπομεν ὡς ὅτι ζηλωτὴς μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ Γοργίου κατὰ τὸ δημοιοκαταλητῶδες καὶ παρισῶδες, πλὴν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀεὶ διὰ τὸ προσκορές· σαφεῖ δὲ τῇ λέξει ἀέρονται καὶ ἡθικῇ καὶ πιθανῇ· στρογγύλη δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ χάριν ἔχουσα, ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ Λυσίου. λέγεται γάρ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ὅτι διεφθονοῦντο οὗτοι ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀντεπαίδευον. συνεχής δέ ἐστι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν· οὕπω γάρ τελειώσας τὸ νόημα ἀλλο αὐτῷ συμπλέκει ἐνθύμημα. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ προοίμια.

This critique is followed by a list of spurious writings which students are warned not to accept as genuine. The biography then concludes with an account of Isocrates' death. The organization of topics in this part of the Life, though not of course the details themselves, corresponds closely to the sequence of topics in Photius' notice at this point. (Photius does not have the list of spurious writings whose existence he either ignores or is ignorant of. He has instead a further comment on the charge of plagiarism made against the *Panegyricus* (cf. p.45 Henry = 486 b 15-29 B.), a charge which Zosimus in turn says nothing about.) Photius and Zosimus' Lives are not related in any direct way, but they do share certain common features which belong no doubt to the commentary tradition. Zosimus' own statements about Isocrates' style seem to derive ultimately from Dionysius of Halicarnassus without being rewritten in the terminology of later rhetoric. The belief that Isocrates' style is 'ethical' and 'plausible' was in fact denied by Hermogenes whose concept of the Idea of Ethos precluded the attribution of these qualities to Isocrates. He is followed in this respect by Photius in Cod.159 and presumably in Cod.260 also since no mention is made of this item. That, however, may be accidental because the critical background of this part of the critique is not concerned with ethos.

However, the next-to-last sentence of Zosimus' critique does seem related somewhat to the concluding sentence of Photius' critique. Henry translates the peculiar phrase τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑποστάσεων ἡ συνέχεια "la continuité des arguments dans les discours," guided presumably by apparent parallels like οὐδὲ ἐπιχειρήμασιν οὐδὲ ἐνθυμήμασι συνεχής τις describing the improvisatory effect of Aeschines' style (Cod.61, I p.61 = 21 b 22 f. B.) and evidently taking ὑπόστασις to be a synonym

of ἐνθύμημα. But such a use of ὑπόστασις does not seem to occur elsewhere though συνέχεια is found with words like ἀπόδειξις and πρότασις. Photius also uses it with περιόδων in Cod. 265 (p. 59 H. = 491 b 37) where this notion is combined with *plagiasmos* and *eutonia* as identifying features of Demosthenes' style. The notion of συνέχεια in literary contexts usually refers to features of composition, especially ones involving euphony and rhythm.²⁷⁾ Zosimus is probably (I cannot say certainly) talking about the interweaving of idea with idea within the framework of the period rather than a characteristic feature of what Dionysius calls ἡ πραγματικὴ οἰκονομία (*De Isocr.* 4). His statement would come then from the doctrine of *peribole* and resembles Hermogenes' discussion of μερισμός and μεσότης (*De Id.* I.11 p.290.13-293.13 R.). Among the various figures which produce *peribole* is *hypostasis*, the use of consecutive and correlative clauses.²⁸⁾ If this is the technical language being employed here by Photius, his comment was intended to describe an aspect of the Isocratean period. Hypostasis in this sense was (and still is) a salient characteristic of Isocrates' style.²⁹⁾ Photius' sentence means then something like: "Also Isocratean is the recurrent use of the figure of hypostasis in his speeches."³⁰⁾

Is this observation a piece of flotsam from the lost commentary tradition which Photius has tacked on here? Is it meant to be complimentary or does it cohere somehow with the negative criticism of the preceding sentence? Given the succinct form of the observation a definite answer is certainly not possible. But Dionysius had long before criticized Isocrates for "fitting all his thoughts into periods and enclosing the periods in the same types of figures and pursuing graceful rhythms in every context."³¹⁾ In the later essay on Demosthenes he illustrates Isocrates' ἀτονία with an example of hypostasis (p.169.16-170.1) and goes on to sum up this defect in Isocrates' style in the words: τροπαὶ δὲ καὶ μεταβολαὶ καὶ ποιηιλαὶ σχημάτων, ἀ πέ-φυκε λύειν τὸν τῆς διανοίας κόπον, οὐδαμοῦ (p.172.1-3 Us.-R.). The theoretical assumptions on which this judgment rests are, as we have seen, Hellenistic and Peripatetic in origin.³²⁾ The theoretical perspective changes in the later rhetorical tradition under the influence of the doctrine of figures and the Hermogenic Ideas, but the particular criticism remains.³³⁾ A

view transmitted by Marcellinus is particularly apt: "discourse developing through a single Idea and on one figure becomes relaxed and satiates the listeners; the exchange of figures (ἢ ἔξαλλαγὴ τῶν σχημάτων) woos and wins pleasure and beauty for discourse."³⁴⁾ The Peripatetic doctrine of λέξις ὑποκριτική (Demetr. *On Style* 193) has been completely transmogrified by the fifth century A.D., but the original linkage of tone, variation, and figurative language is retained.³⁵⁾ Thus the observation about Isocrates' special fondness for hypostasis could have formed part of a criticism of the monotonous evenness of his style and belong in thought with the preceding sentence which develops the implication of a style which is not πολυοχήμων.

If this interpretation is correct, then the critique in Cod. 260 is a coherent paragraph comparable in its brevity to Zosimus' critique although this brevity is more likely to be the result of shrinkage and truncation in the commentary tradition than a deliberate effort at συντομία on the part of Photius or his source. Despite the surface difference in technical language and in the emphasis given details the underlying content is the same as that in Cod. 159. This content originated in the Lyceum, was adopted in a revised and, one should perhaps say, updated form by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and doubtless in a comparable fashion by his friend Caecilius of Calacte, was familiar to Demetrius and [Longinus] though again from the later Hellenistic perspective, and by the second century A.D. was synthesized into a generally critical view of Isocrates' style.³⁶⁾ This synthesis was rewritten by Hermogenes in his own terminology and underlies almost all his occasional references to Isocrates. We can assume that it was similarly redefined in the concepts of the doctrine of figures sometime between Hermogenes and Marcellinus. This view together with the competing view of admirers like Zosimus found a home in the rhetorical schools and the commentary tradition.

The two codices in the *Bibliotheca* reveal this summary and essentially critical view in three distinct forms: 1) a revised version of Hermogenes' critique (the first part of Cod. 159); 2) an abbreviated statement in mostly Hellenistic language of the defects in Isocrates' style from the point of view of the (originally considered superior) agonistic style (the

second part of Cod.159); 3) the same Peripatetic criticism expressed in the mixed language of the late rhetorical schools (Cod.260). No one has yet discovered a way of determining how these sundry versions reached Photius' notebooks. I have repeatedly referred to the commentary tradition in this connection not because I want to explain the unknown by the unknowable, but because what we know of this tradition, most notably in the Marcellinus and Zosimus texts, suggests that it was the likeliest vehicle for the transmission of the kind of highly synthesized and abbreviated critique of style that we find in these codices. ³⁷⁾

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NOTES

1) *Photius. Bibliothèque.* Texte établi et traduit par René Henry. VIII (C.U.F., Paris 1977) 220. Henry (218 f.) gives a brief summary of the scholarly discussion of these codices; cf. also Ziegler's article on Photius (No.13) in *RE* 20.1 (1941) 716.

2) Cf. Manfred Lossau, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Demosthenesexegese* (Bad Homburg V.D.H.-Berlin-Zurich 1964) 52-65.

3) Ziegler, *ibid.* This futility is exemplified by A. Vonach, "Die Berichte des Photios über die fünf älteren attischen Redner," *Comm. Aenipontanae* 5 (Innsbruck 1910) 14-76, who very conveniently collects the ancient criticisms of Isocrates' style and discusses them, often acutely (51-64), but reaches inconclusive results because of a poor methodology and limited concept of source criticism.

4) Cf. G.L. Kustas, "The Literary Criticism of Photius: A Christian Definition of Style," *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 138 n.1. Kustas also observes that the Idea of Truth is met with only in Codd.159 and 160.

5) Rabe's punctuation is misleading. There should be a period after περιβάλλετ and a colon after τούτω (p.397.22), not conversely as he has it.

6) Hermogenes is himself the best example of τὸ διδασκαλικόν in style. But the language here is uncharacteristic of him and is probably a quotation or reminiscence from an earlier critic; for example, τὸ ὑπτίον καὶ ἀναβεβλημένων (p.397.23 f. R.) occurs in Dion. Hal. *De Isocr.* 15, p.76.22 Us.-R.

7) ή κατὰ μέθοδον δεινότης would presumably be denied by the critics who according to Photius συνασκήσει μᾶλλον ή τέχνη χρήσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τὸν ἄνδρα φασί (p.44 Henry = 486 b 1 f. Bekker).

8) τὸ γόνιμον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων is also attributed to Thucydides who learned it from his teacher Antiphon (Schol. Thucyd. IV.135 p.287.18 f. Hude = Caecilius Fr.156a Ofenloch); inventive skill was a special characteristic of Antiphon (cf. Ps. Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 832 E, p.2.22-26 Mau). τὸ γόνιμον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων looks like a late cliché; it is used by Photius in several other codices where he is voicing his own opinion. It is not a relic of Caecilius. For the use of antitheses, positive vs. negative observations, and related features of Photius' comments of style see Günther

Hartmann, *Photios' Literarästhetik* (Borna-Leipzig 1929) 29-42. Emil Orth, *Photiana* (Leipzig 1928) 70 f., analyzes the positive/negative pattern in Cod. 90 on Libanius.

9) Cf. the fragment of a commentary on Demosthenes XXIII (Yale Pap. 1534) edited by H.M. Hubbell, *Yale Cl. St.* 15 (1957) 181-93. At line 6 after some favorable comments the commentator introduces a negative note: ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ μήτε καλῶς ἔχειν τὸ προσώπου μήτε... Cf. Lossau (above n.2) 135-37.

10) Vonach (above n.3) 62.

11) Ernestus Ofenloch, *Caecilius Calactini Frr.* (Leipzig 1907, reprinted Stuttgart 1967) No. 123. Part of his reason for thinking this passage a remnant of Caecilius is simply wrong: "cum sermonis colore aliis reliquis nostri rhetoris simile est," *Praefatio* xxviii.

12) (Above n.1) 219. Thomas Hägg, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur* [Acta Univ. Upsaliensis. Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 8] (Uppsala 1975) 169 f., 196 f., offers some evidence of Photius' use of memoranda. Cf. also Antonio Nogara, "Note sulla composizione e la struttura della *Bibliotheca* di Fozio... I," *Aevum* 49 (1975) 213-42.

13) Cf. Lossau 39-52. Dionysius makes the same criticism of Lysias' style using similar metaphors from the gymnasium in *De Lys.* 13 p. 23.5-12 Us.-R. where the shadow of Theophrastus seems to hover in the background.

14) Cf. Lossau 52-65 and Fritz Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, 4 (Basel-Stuttgart 1968) 79-82 and 10 (1969) 43. For the connection with the concept of *deinotes* cf. Ludwig Voit, *ΔΕΙΝΟΤΗ. Ein antiker Stilbegriff* (Leipzig 1934) 35-37; 50-53; Dieter Hagedorn, *Zur Ideenlehre d. Hermogenes* (Hypomnemata, 8, Göttingen 1964) 33-41; D.M. Schenkeveld, *Studies in Demetrius on Style* (Amsterdam 1964) 64-66; though none of them quite appreciate the significance of *hypokrisis* in this conception of style.

15) Demetrius' comparison of Menander and Philemon (*On Style* 193) suggests a considerable expansion of Aristotle's original distinction of two prose styles with their concomitant illustrations (*Rhet.* III.12).

16) Hermogenes, for example, does not use this notion at all in his discussion of *πνεῦμα* (*De Inv.* IV.4 p. 183-191 R.) and considers *άτονία* merely a technical defect in the period (*ibid.* 3 p. 179.1 f.). Demetrius likewise gives it only peripheral attention in *On Style* 271 and 303 though he was drawing upon a substantial body of material concerned with the "forceful character."

17) I pp. 60 f. H. = 21 b 8-23 B. A similar comparison of Isocrates, Lysias and Demosthenes in regard to the length of their periods appears in Cod. 265 p. 59 H. = 492 a 5-13 B. The origin of these three-way comparisons with two extremes and a "virtuous" middle has not yet been traced; on the general practice cf. Friedrich Focke, "Synkrisis," *Hermes* 58 (1923) 327-68.

18) (Above n.11) xxviii.

19) Cf. Lossau 50-52.

20) Cicero *Orat.* 62 makes the same distinction between 'read' and 'delivered' discourse or style and with metaphors reminiscent of Dionysius and [Longinus'] *ώμεντρον*. Another possibility is that *μικρολογία* is a play on Isocrates' description of rhetoric, later elevated into his "definition" of the art: "to make the great lowly and to confer greatness on the small" (*τοῖς μικροῖς μέγαθος περιθεῖναι*, *Paneg.* 8). Demetrius (*On Style* 119 f.) converts this notion (maliciously?) into rhetorical *άλαζονεία*: *ὅ τε μικροῖς πράγμασιν περιβάλλων ὅγκον*. When this is done διὰ τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς, *ὅτε μικροῖς φριγιότης*. Did the original charge of *μικρολογία* mean *ψυχρολογία*?

21) The concluding sentence of the critique appears to be Photius' personal comment on the material he is reporting. Polemical reactions like this occur elsewhere; see Cod.260 p.46 H. = 487 a 29-35 B. which reveals a similar predilection for antitheses and the commonplace. These pronouncements function as paragraph enders.

22) Cf. *De Id.* III.12 p.296.24-298.5 R. which is too diffuse to quote here but contains both the point and the language used here by Photius.

23) Hermann Sauppe (*GGA* 1863, 3, p.1664) argued that the phrase οὐ πολυωχήμων δ ἀνήρ, οὐδὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τροπαῖς ποιειλλόμενος came from Caecilius on the ground that it resembles the language of the citation from Caecilius in Cod.259 (p.41 f. H. = 485 b 14-40 B.) and is basically different from the judgment on style in Cod.159 (which Sauppe evidently believed was written by Photius himself). Brzoska in *RE*, s.v. Caecilius, III, 1183, and Ofenloch (Fr.122) extend this claim to the entire passage. However, the language here is not that distinctive and while different from that in Cod.159 does not in fact resemble anything in the Caecilius quotation in Cod.259. The one term which might have been an adequate clue, μεταβολή, is clearly not being used in the special sense given it by Caecilius; cf. Jan Ros, *Die METABOLE (Variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides* (Rhet. Studien, Ergänzungsband I, Paderborn 1938) 19-85. Ros himself reserves judgment, but apparently thinks the extant Dionysius of Halicarnassus a likelier source (p.36).

24) Cf. *De Dem.* 20 p.171.8 ff. and 172.1-3 Us.-R.; *On the Sublime* 20.3 where Demosthenes' variation (*metabole*) in the use of figures is stressed.

25) Cf. Bux, Marcellinus (No. 49), *RE* XIV (1930) 1450-87, esp. 1465-68 and 1470-80; Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* I.5 (1948) 3 f.; Otto Luschnat, Thukyrides, *RE Suppl.-Bd.*XII (1970) 1087. The "Zosimus Life" is cited here from *Scholia Gr. in Aeschinem et Isocratem*, ed.G. Dindorf (Oxford 1852) 101-06. There is a sizeable literature on the questions of the authorship and relationship of these lives which have yet to be satisfactorily resolved. Though probably pertinent to the larger question of the nature and source(s) of the ten codices (259-268) on the Attic Orators in the *Bibliotheca*, they do not affect our present problem.

26) Not, I think, Ps.-Plut. *Vit. X Orat.*

27) Cf. e.g. Dion. Hal. *De Comp.* 179 p.116.5-8 and 184 p.119.13-23 Us.-R.; Dem. *On Style* 68. Hermogenes *De Id.* I.3 p.307.1 ff. R., contrasts Isocrates and Demosthenes on just this point.

28) Cf. Ps.-Arist. *Tech. Rhet. A. B. a* (*Rh. Gr.* II p.479 f. Sp.); Hermog. *De Id.* I.11 p.290.16-20 R.; Anon. *De Fig.* (*Rh. Gr.* VIII p.636.15 ff. W.): ὑπόστασις ἔστι λόγου αὐξησις καὶ ἐρμηνεία κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον κόρμα ἢ κῶλον.

29) Cf. S. Usher, "The Style of Isocrates," *BICS* 20 (1973) 39-67, esp. 42-48, who states, "Οὐ (μή) ... ἀλλά and *Hypostasis*... emerge as the most characteristically Isocratean devices of parallelism."

30) Another, but remote, possibility is that ὑπόστασις is being used in the meaning of 'underlying reality' and is in effect a synonym of ἰδέα; cf. Joannes Siculus, *In Hermog. De Id. (Prol. Syl.)* p.398.27-399.21 R., esp. 399.13. But we probably have in this passage an instance of Joannes' "sermo... sententiis implicatis helluans" (Rabe, p. cxiii).

31) *De Isocr. 3* p.58.15-17 Us.-R. This appears to develop a Theophrastan idea; cf. note 32.

32) Cf. Schenkeveld (above n.14) 132 f.

33) Ros (above n.23) 44 f. cites parallels from Hermogenes to Maximus Planudes.

34) Hugo Rabe, *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, p.291.71 ff.; the parallel passages in other Prolegomena do not contain this particular comment, but see Phoebammon *De Fig. (Rhet. Gr. III p.43.8-15 Sp.)*; Hermogenes, *De Id. II.10 p.382.13-383.12 R.*, in a discussion of the function of τὸ κάλλος in political discourse recommends the use of figures and other compositional devices from the Idea of Beauty to relieve excessive austerity in subject matter and to keep the listener awake in τῇ πυκνότητι τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τῇ συνέχειᾳ.

35) The same combination appears in Cod.265 p.59 H. = 491 b 35 f. B. (καὶ δὲ πλαγιασμὸς καὶ ἡ συνέχεια περιθῶν καὶ ἡ εὔτονία) in a passage claimed for Caecilius (Fr.144 Ofenl.). The difficulty of identifying the scattered remnants of Caecilius is nicely illustrated by Friedrich Zucker, "Avnθποιήης. Eine semasiologische Untersuchung aus der antiken Rhetorik und Ethik," *SBBA Kl. f. Spr., Lit. u. Kunst*, Jahrg. 1952, Nr.4 (Berlin 1953) 24 f., who wants to claim πλαγιασμός as a technical term in the critical vocabulary of Caecilius on the basis of this passage and Apsines *Ars Rhet. (Rh. Gr. I p.374.24 Sp.)*. But in Apsines *plagiasmos* is the figure referring to the use of the genitive absolute in a period. It belongs to the σχήματα γοργά one of whose functions is the production of εὔτονία (vigor) as Hermogenes also knows (p.293 R.). It is impossible to say whether this conception had anything to do with Caecilius; it simply indicates the way in which earlier stylistic notions like the Peripatetic view of the agonistic style were translated into the terminology of the doctrine of figures. This terminology like the Hermogenic language of the Ideas is pervasive in later rhetorical theory and criticism.

36) Lossau (above n.2) 137 n.26 remarks on this synthesizing tendency in the commentaries.

37) I subscribe to Ziegler's view: "...vom Ausgang des Altertums bis in die Zeit des P(hotios) eine uns sonst wohl nicht erkennbare, aber doch wohl niemals unterbrochene Schultradition auf diesem Gebiete bestanden hat, die P. übernommen und vermöge einer ihm eigenen besonderen Neigung und Gabe neu belebt und ausgebaut hat" (*RE* 20.1 col.723.43-50). The way Photius gave new life to this tradition has not yet, I think, been satisfactorily explained.

EIN PAPYRUS AUS DEM UNRUHIGEN ALEXANDREIA
AM VORABEND DER ARABISCHEN EROBERUNG
(PAP. VINDOB. GR. 19938)

HERBERT HUNGER

Noch immer gibt es unter den unedierten griechischen Papyri der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Stücke, die durch bestimmte Charakteristika die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich lenken. Pap. Gr. 19938 fällt auf den ersten Blick durch seine Schrift auf: eine ziemlich stark schräg liegende Majuskel guter Qualität, die man von vornherein eher dem 7. als dem 6. Jahrhundert zuweisen möchte. Dass der Schreiber einer hohen Kanzlei angehörte, steht ausser Zweifel. Will man eine vergleichbare Schrift heranziehen, wird man am besten an die lange Unterschriftenliste von Bischöfen zur 17. Sitzung des 6. oikumenischen Konzils von Konstantinopel 680/681 denken, die zur Hälfte in Majuskeln, zur Hälfte in Minuskeln gehalten ist: Pap. Vindob. Gr. 3, der sich seit den Tagen Peter Lambecks in Wien befindet. Ob es sich hiebei um originale oder zeitgenössische "nachzeichnende" Unterschriften handelt, ist bis heute nicht restlos geklärt;¹⁾ es spielt übrigens für den vorliegenden Papyrus keine Rolle.

Trotz der mangelhaften Erhaltung - vier Fragmente mit dem Schluss eines Briefes - lässt sich der Sachverhalt einigermassen feststellen. Zunächst die düsseren Daten: Mittelbraunes Papyrusblatt guter Qualität, 25 x 34,5 cm. Der rechte, leicht wellige, und der untere, gerade beschrittene Rand sind fast völlig unbeschädigt erhalten. Rechts ist bis an den Rand geschrieben, unten sind 4 cm unbeschriftet. Links ist der Papyrus unregelmässig ausgebrochen, der Textverlust ist jedoch minimal. Aus der Blattmitte ist ein ca. 9 x 11 cm grosses Stück herausgebrochen. Oben ist der Papyrus relativ gerade abgebrochen; nur geringe Spuren einzelner Buchstaben (vor allem Doppel-My) sind

erkennbar. 3 und 14,5 cm von unten gemessen verlaufen horizontale Klebungen. Die Schrift verläuft gegen die Faser. Die Tinte ist bräunlich. Die Buchstabengröße liegt bei durchschnittlich 1 cm. Knapp 1 cm misst der Abstand der Zeilen voneinander. Der Gesamteindruck ist der eines ästhetisch anspruchsvollen Schriftstückes. Die Rückseite ist bis auf 4-5 Zeilen bzw. Halbzeilen mit Tachygraphie leer.

T e x t

1 .[].μμ.[]..[
 2 ινα συγχωρηση [τ]οισ πταισασιν αυτοσ [1]ι β[± 6]
 3 και μητε μνησ[ικ]α[κ]ηση μητε [λυ]πουμενοσ επι τασ
 4 ενδοξουσ ακοασ τ[ο]υ κοινου [δεσπ]οτου και θμων
 5 αναγαγη ωσ μν [± 4] ικηθε [± 4] πηρα οπερ και πε
 6 ποιηκεν και τ [± 4] νυπερ [2] του βασιλεωσ και του
 7 κ]οινου {δ} δεσποτου [± 9] συνευφημηθεντω(ν)
 8 πλην οτι καγω τ [± 11] παρενεγυησα του
 9 λ]οιπου σωφρονω [± 13] ωσ παντα τα
 10 προγεγονωτα ατο [± 12] λη αυτων επι
 11 κλασθειη του παν[± 8]οινου δεσποτου
 12 δικαιωσ αγανακτο[υν]τοσ και ενομοτωσ τησ
 13 ε]φεξησ ευταξει[α]σ[λ]ογον δεδωκασιν ειπερ αληθευουσι (ν)+

1 μμ
 2 ινα συγχωρηση τοις πταισασιν αύτός, ει βούλεται,
 3 και μητε μνησικακηση μήτε λυπουμενος έπι τας
 4 ένδοξους άκοας τοῦ κοινοῦ δεσπότου και θμῶν
 5 άναγάγη, ως μνήμη ικηθεὶς λυπηρῷ. ὅπερ και πε-
 6 ποίηκεν και τοῦ πανυπερτάτου βασιλέως και τοῦ
 7 κοινοῦ δεσπότου ὑπ' ἔκείνων συνευφημηθέντων.
 8 πλὴν ὅτι κάγω τοῖς μοναχοῖς παρενεγύησα τοῦ
 9 λοιποῦ σωφρόνως γε διακεῖσθαι, ως πάντα τὰ
 10 προγεγονότα ἀτοπήματα και ἡ βουλὴ αύτῶν ἐπι-
 11 κλασθεῖη. τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν κοινοῦ δεσπότου
 12 δικαιῶς ἀγανακτοῦντος και ἐνωμότως τῆς
 13 ἐφεξῆς ευταξίας λόγον δεδώκασιν, εἴπερ ἀληθεύουσιν. +

(See Plate I)

Uebersetzung. « Ich schrieb an N.N. und versuchte, ihn milde zu stimmen, » damit er selbst den Sündern verzeihe, [wenn er will,] und weder (etwas) nachtrage noch verärgert dem gemeinsamen Herrn und Euch zum "ruhmvollen" Gehör bringe, sozusagen von der Erinnerung an das Aer- gernis überwältigt. Das hat er auch getan, nachdem sowohl der [aller- höchste] Kaiser als auch der gemeinsame Herr [von jenen] zusammen akkla- miert worden waren.

Uebrigens ordnete auch ich [den Mönchen] an, sich in Zukunft [wenig- stens] zu beherrschen, damit alle früheren Torheiten [und ihr (böser)] Wille gebrochen ("geknickt") werden. Da unser aller gemeinsamer Herr mit Recht ungehalten war, verpflichteten sie sich eidlich zu künftigem Wohl- verhalten, - wenn sie die Wahrheit sagen. +

Bemerkungen zum Text und zur Uebersetzung. Z.3 λυπέομαι, är- gerlich, zornig sein: vgl. Athanas. Apol. sec.6: PG 25,257 B; Malal.S.43,14 Bonn; Max. Homol. PG 90,972 A: λυπούμενος κατ' αύτοῦ. -- Z.5 ἀνάγω, terminus der Verwaltungs- und Gerichtssprache: vor jemand bringen, vgl. εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀνάγειν = *ad magistratus referre*. Aristot. Polit. 1292 a 25 εἰς τὸν δῆμον πάντα ἀνάγοντες. Malal. S.63,15 Bonn ἀνή- γαγον τῷ Φαραὼ περὶ αὐτῶν u.8. -- Die ἔνδοξοι ἀκοαί entsprechen der spätantiken Atmosphäre. -- μνήμη νικηθεὶς λυπερῆ, wörtlich "von der ärgerlichen Erinnerung besiegt". -- Z.6 πανυπέρτατος, unprotokol- larische Bezeichnung des Kaisers; vgl. unser "allerhöchst". Vgl. z.B. Orph. hymn. 8,17 (Helios); 12,6 (Herakles) Quandt u.8.; A.P. I 90 (Sophro- nios von Jerusalem). -- Z.6 f.: συνευφημέω: vgl. Euseb. Triakont.S.196,18; Joh. Dam. PG 95,48 B. Gemeinsame Akklamationen von Kaiser und Patriarch werden noch bei Pseudo-Kodinos (Mitte des 14. Jh.) erwähnt: Anlässlich der Erhebung eines Patriarchen heisst es (S. 280,13-16 Verpeaux): καθεο- θέντων οὖν ἐκατέρων ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν γίνεται ἡ εύφημια τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου. Zur Krönung Kaiser Manuels II. (S.356, 1-8 Verpeaux): καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ κάθηται. καὶ σταθεὶς τις τῶν διακόνων ἐν ταῖς θύ- ραις τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐκφωνεῖ τὴν φήμην τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, μετὰ μέλους εύφημοῦ- σιν αὐτούς. -- Z.7-11 Die Ergänzungen sind *exempli gratia* zu verstehen. -- Z.10 θουλὴ im Sinne von θουλὴ πονηρά: vgl. Didache 2,6; Euseb.Vita Const. I 47 (S. 40,9). -- καὶ war vermutlich gekürzt (wie in Z.3 u.6) ge- schrieben. -- Z.11 Die naheliegende Ergänzung παναγιωτάτου κοινοῦ δεσ- πότου ist aus Platzgründen unbrauchbar. -- Z.13 λόγον διδόναι, hier

im Sinne von versprechen, sich verpflichten: vgl. Ephraim Syr.I 221 A
 δῶμεν ἐαυτοῖς λόγον, ὅστε ἔχειν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀγάπην. Visio Danielis 9 λόγον... δέδωκα τῷ Χριστῷ τοῦ μὴ γεύσασθαι ἄφοι. -- εύταξία enthält auch den Begriff der Unterordnung: Dionys.Areop. cael. hier.4,4 (S.100,33 Heil).

*

In Ermangelung einer Datierung und der Nennung irgendeines Personennamens trägt jede Interpretation ein starkes Moment der Unsicherheit in sich. Trotzdem will ich einen "Rekonstruktionsversuch" wagen. Der Schreiber des Briefes - ob eigenhändig oder Diktatgeber, bleibe dahingestellt - muss ein hoher Beamter gewesen sein, der über gute sprachliche Bildung verfügte und, soweit er nicht selbst schrieb, einen gewandten Schreiber einer (gehobenen) Kanzlei zur Hand hatte.

Zu beachten ist die gleichmäßige Neigung der Schrift, die regelmäßige Wiedergabe der gleichen Buchstaben und der ziemlich einheitliche Abstand zwischen den Buchstaben. Nur an zwei Stellen wird die Schrift gegen das Zeilenende zu ein wenig gedrängter (Z.7 u. 13), wo sich der Schreiber jeweils auch des Querstrichs für ein Schluss-Ny bedient. Die Rechtsneigung der Schrift wird durch Unterlängen des Kappa, Rho, Ypsilon und Phi, in geringerem Masse des Tau, unterstrichen; Beta und die kräftige καὶ-Kürzung reichen weit unter die Grundzeile. Durch den Wechsel von breiten (Eta, My, Ny, Pi, Omega) und schmalen Buchstaben (Epsilon, Theta, Iota, Omikron, Rho, Sigma) erhält das Schriftbild eine angenehme Ausgewogenheit. Das linsenförmige, schmale Omikron, im Verein mit ähnlich gestaltetem "Knopfloch"-Alpha, sowie Epsilon, Theta und Sigma sind für den Schreiber charakteristisch. Auch das keineswegs aufgeblähte dreistrichige Phi ist seiner Umgebung angepasst. Lateinisch geformtes Delta mit relativ kurzer Oberlänge ordnet sich der allgemeinen NO-SW-Richtung ein. Nur Alpha, Lambda und die Querstriche von Ny und Ypsilon vertreten die NW-SO-Achse. Tau, Gamma und Epsilon - dieses mit seiner Mittelzunge - suchen häufig die Verbindung mit dem nächsten Buchstaben, was eine Ahnung von "kursiver" Schreibweise vermittelt. Akzente und Spiritus fehlen. Trema über Ypsilon (z.4 Üηων als Lesehilfe) zeigt, dass der Schreiber auch an seine Adressaten gedacht hat. Merkwürdig entstellt ist das Wort δεοπότου in Z.7: Ein dem sonstigen Delta (Z.4.11.12.13) entsprechender Buchstabe wurde anscheinend getilgt und daneben durch ein anderes Delta mit einer nach NW gerichteten Oberlänge ersetzt; das ganze Wort ist aber stark berieben. -- Die Orthographie ist bis auf wenige Stellen ein-

wandfrei: Z.9 *σαρπονως*, Z.10 *προγεγοντα*, Z.12 *ενομοτως*, Z.13 *ευταξειας*. In der Morphologie ist die Augmentierung des Dekompositums (Z.8 *παρενεγύνα*) neben (*παρ*)*ηγγύνα* schon alt belegt.²⁾ -- Der Schreiber beherrscht die Hochsprache. Bemerkenswert sind der Optativ (Z.10 f. *ἐπικιλασθείν*), der zweimalige Genetivus absolutus (Z.6 f. u.11 f.), die Wendung *εύταξίας λόγον διδόναι* (Z.13), der Gebrauch des Dativs (Z.2. 5) und des Perfektums (Z.5 f. 10. 13). *ἀγανακτέω*, *ἀληθεύω*, *ἐνωμότως*, *εύταξία*, *μησικαιέω*, *συγχωρέω* sind durchwegs Wörter des alten klassischen Griechisch. *ἐπὶ τας ἐνδόξους ἀκοάς ἀνάγειν* hingegen gehört ebenso zum spätantiken Amtsstil wie *συνευφημεῖν* für eine gemeinsame Akklamation.

Der Beleidigte könnte ein Regierungsbeamter oder Delegierter der Zentralregierung in Konstantinopel gewesen sein. Wir wissen, dass es gerade in dem sehr sensiblen und leicht emotionalisierten Alexandreia wiederholt zu Aggressionen der Mönche und des Pöbels gegenüber kaiserlichen Beamten kam.³⁾ Allerdings ist in unserem Brief nirgends direkt gesagt, dass Mönche die Schuldigen waren. Aber dass die Schuldigen der Jurisdiktion des Patriarchen unterstanden, geht daraus hervor, dass der Schreiber annimmt, der Beleidigte könnte sich (mit einer Beschwerde) an den Patriarchen wenden. Der *κοινός δεσπότης* kann m.E. nur der Patriarch von Alexandreia sein, womit ich auch die Lokalisierung unserer Szene begründen möchte. *Δεσπότης*, und zwar nichtprotokollarisch gebraucht, ist für den Ortsbischof noch heute in Griechenland üblich. Die in unserem Brief dreimalige Verbindung *κοινός δεσπότης* erinnert an *κοινός τις πατήρ ὁ ἱερεύς* des Johannes Chrysostomos.⁴⁾

Als Adressat ist eine Gruppe anzunehmen, wie aus dem *ὑμῶν* in Z.4 ersichtlich ist. Ich denke an ägyptische Metropoliten und Bischöfe, etwa die Mitglieder einer am Patriarchat institutionalisierten Synode. Dazu passt, dass die Adressaten unmittelbar nach dem Patriarchen, in engem Zusammenhang mit ihm genannt werden. Es ist auch verständlich, dass die Bischöfe über ein unliebsames Ereignis, wie wir es hier anzunehmen haben, und seine Beilegung amtlich informiert wurden.

Dass der "Regierungsbeamte" in irgendeiner Form beleidigt wurde, was zunächst durch das *πταλσασιν* noch nicht gedeckt ist, ergibt sich aus der Aufforderung des Schreibers zu Verzeihung und Vergebung. Worin das "Aergernis" bestand, bleibt unserer

Phantasie überlassen; man kann an Spottverse oder Beschimpfungen, vielleicht auch an Täglichkeiten denken. Jedenfalls muss man in dem Angriff auf den Regierungsbeamten auch einen solchen auf dessen kaiserlichen Herrn gesehen haben. Es versteht sich daher von selbst, dass die Schuldigen zwecks Wiedergutmachung zu einer Akklamation des Kaisers veranlasst (gezwungen?) wurden, die mit einer Akklamation des melkitischen Patriarchen Hand in Hand ging. Dass es auch galt, den Unwillen des Patriarchen zu besänftigen, ersehen wir aus dem *ἀγαντοῦντος* (z.12). Während der Beleidigte - auf Vermittlung des Briefschreibers hin - sich mit der Akklamation des Kaisers zufrieden gab, hielt man sich gegenüber dem Patriarchen verpflichtet, eine eidesstattliche Erklärung des zukünftigen Wohlverhaltens von Seiten der Schuldigen zu verlangen. Diese Abstufung leuchtet ein, wenn man überlegt, dass der Regierungsbeamte wohl bald wieder nach Konstantinopel zurückkehrte, während der Patriarch in Alexandreia blieb. Allerdings scheint der Schreiber von dieser Erklärung der "Mönche" nicht viel gehalten zu haben. Das zeigt seine skeptische Schlusswendung *εἴπερ ἀληθεύουσιν*, die ihn uns menschlich nähebringt.

Die gemeinsame Akklamation des Kaisers und des Patriarchen bietet zugleich einen *terminus ante quem* für unseren Papyrus. Unter der arabischen Regierung hätte diese Akklamation nicht mehr stattfinden können. Zudem blieb der orthodoxe Patriarchen-thron in Alexandreia lange Zeit nach dem Einmarsch der Araber unbesetzt.⁵⁾ Wir werden also, wenn wir von der kurzen Episode der Rückeroberung Alexandreias durch die Byzantiner absehen, das Jahr 642 als *terminus ante quem* annehmen können. Im Hinblick auf die Schrift möchte man von hier aus nicht mehr weit zurückgehen. Unter Kaiser Herakleios gab es bekanntlich rege, teils gespannte Beziehungen zwischen dem Hof in Konstantinopel und Alexandreia. Der Kaiser und der orthodoxe Patriarch Sergios versuchten, mit Hilfe des Monenergetismus bzw. Monotheletismus (Ekthesis von 638) u.a. auch die Kopten zu gewinnen, ein Versuch der wir andere vorangegangene misslang. Seit 631 (bis 641) vertrat Kyros, ein energischer Parteigänger des Kaisers, als melkitischer Patriarch dessen Sache in Alexandreia. Dass es dabei laufend zu Kundgebungen des Unwillens und zu Widerstand von Seiten der Kopten, sowie zu Zwangsmassnahmen von Seiten der Regie-

rung und des Patriarchen kam, nimmt nicht Wunder. Die koptischen und den Kopten freundlich gesinnten Quellen charakterisieren die Amtsperiode des Kyros als eine Zeit der Verfolgung.⁶⁾ Sollte es sich in unserem Fall um den Patriarchen Kyros handeln (was nicht mehr als eine Hypothese sein kann), so könnte der Brief nicht von dem Augustalis, dem Nachfolger des Praefectus Aegypti, geschrieben sein, da Kyros vielmehr selbst die Funktion des höchsten kaiserlichen Beamten übernommen hatte.⁷⁾

Die Tatsache, dass in unserem Papyrus, dessen Text mit einem Schlusskreuz endet, kein Schlussgruss enthalten ist, wie man ihn erwarten müsste, macht m.E. wahrscheinlich, dass wir einen Briefentwurf, ein blosses Konzept, vor uns haben. Dafür scheinen mir auch die Wortstellung in Z.5-7, das etwas nachhinkende *participium coniunctum νικηθείς* (wenn meine Ergänzung richtig ist) und der ebenso nachgestellte *genetivus absolutus* zu sprechen.

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ANMERKUNGEN

1) Vgl.R. Riedinger, Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionslisten des VI. oekumenischen Konzils (680/81) und der Papyrus Vind.G.3, Abh.Bayer.Akad.Wiss. phil.-hist.Kl. N.F. Heft 85, München 1979, S.11.

2) E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik I, München 1939, S.656.

3) Vgl. z.B. Prokop.Anekd.26,35-44; De aed.6,1,3 f.;Joh.v.Ephesos,Lives of Eastern Saints, ed. E.W. Brooks, Patr.Or.18/4, Paris 1924, S.528: '...and severe fighting and much slaughter took place in it (scil.Alexandria) as is common in that great city.' J.Maspero, Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des Églises Jacobites (518-616), Paris 1923, S.212-277. G.Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine,2 Paris 1928, S.226-29. J.Jarry, La révolte dite d'Aykelâh, Bull.Inst.Franc.Archéol.Or. 62 (1964) 186-206. M. Maehler, Trouble in Alexandria in a letter of the sixth century, Gr. Rom.Byz.Stud. 17 (1976) 197-203.

4) Joh. Chrys. Hom.6,1 in 1 Tim.: PG 11,578 D. Vielleicht wird das *κοινὸς δεσπότης* besonders betont, weil es in Alexandreia nebeneinander koptische und melkitische Patriarchen gab, die Vertreter der Regierung aber bestrebt waren, den von Konstantinopel eingesetzten orthodoxen Patriarchen als allgemein anerkannte Autorität hinzustellen. Sollte sich meine Vermutung in bezug auf den Patriarchen Kyros bestätigen, so könnte man das *κοινὸς δεσπότης* auch auf die grosse Gemeinschaft aller Geistlichen und Laien beziehen. In diese Richtung weist meine Ergänzung von Z.11 πάντων ἡμῶν κοινοῦ δεσπότου.

5) H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich, München 1959, S.94.

6) Z.B. Jean de Nikiou, Chronique, ed.H. Zotenberg, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 24 (1883) 570, 572 ff.- Michel le Syrien, Chronique, ed.J.-B. Chabot II, Paris 1901 (ND Brüssel 1963), S.411

7) Beck, a.O. 431 f.

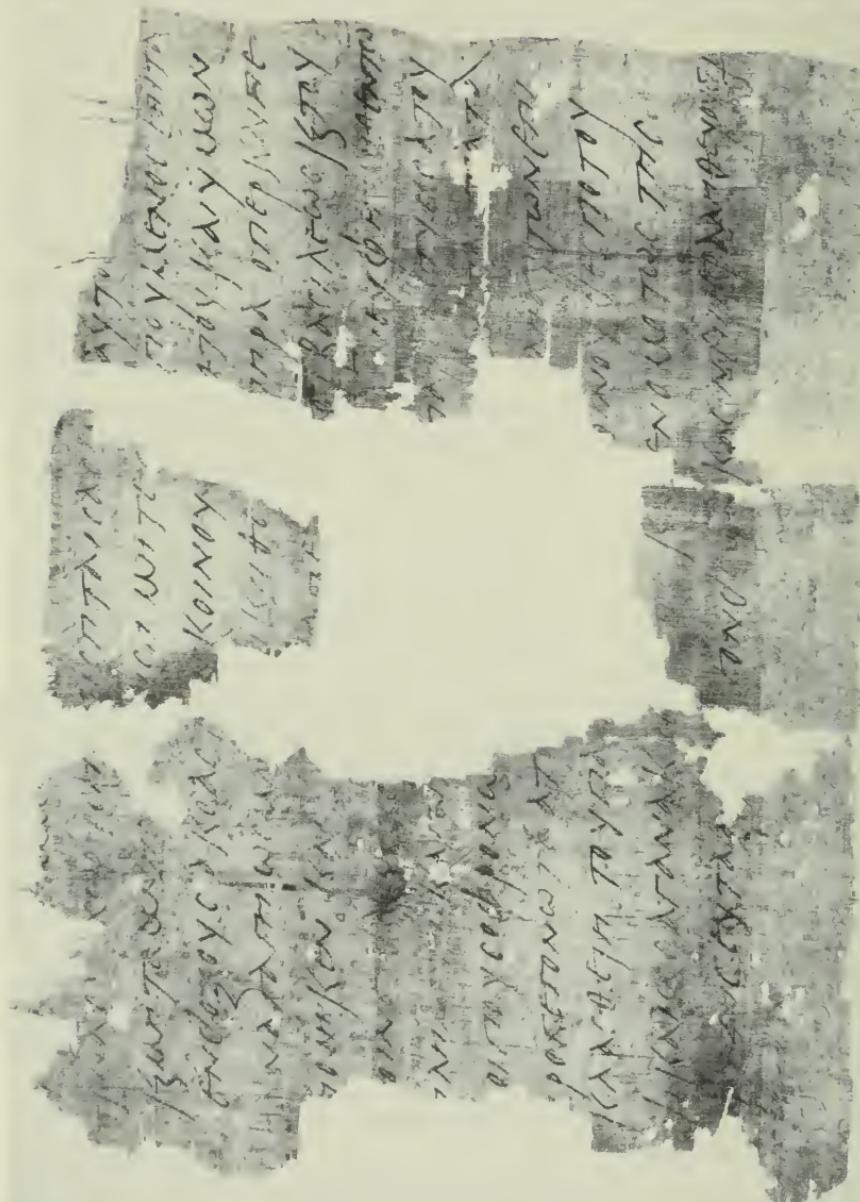


Plate I: Pap. Vindob. Gr. 19938

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